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INTERREGNUM

Introduction to a Study on the Formation
of Armenian Identity (ca 600-750)

BY

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To my dearly beloved cousin

KAREN SAPAROV

whose wisdom and sensitivity bore no trace of
the grim setting of his life.

На светлую память

PROLOGUE

The present study was originally envisaged as a continuation of the investigation into the doctrinal developments in the early Armenian Church during the fifth to seventh centuries, presented in my earlier work, *L'Église arménienne et le Grand Schisme d'Orient* (1999). This second part, encompassing the seventh century, was to focus on the internal problems facing the final formulation of Armenian doctrine as opposed to the external pressures brought upon it by the neighbouring powers of Persia and Byzantium in the earlier period. Upon further research, however, it became evident that such an investigation could not be undertaken satisfactorily without a more general study of the other aspects of Armenia under the domination of Byzantium as well as of the late Sasanians and the Umayyads (ca. A.D. 600-750), a period identified here as the Interregnum. Moreover, it also became clear that such a chronological shift entailed a concomitant change in methodological approach to a definition of the Armenian identity. Consequently, while still including its earlier purpose of studying the doctrinal evolution of the Armenian Church during the Interregnum, the present study no longer seeks to limit itself to the analysis of any particular aspect subsumed in this identity, but rather to widen its scope. Its intention is now to collect and offer an introductory overview of the main components that have contributed to the definition of Armenia's identity during this period. A number of studies dealing with particular aspects of the Interregnum already exist and have been taken into consideration. Others are still needed. In short, our main purpose at this point is not to present a study in depth of this period, especially in the fields of textology, theology and art history, not all of which are possible in the light of available evidence, and furthermore lie beyond our competence as a historian, some aspects of the problem will be of necessity scanted.¹ Let it suffice to seek a chrono-

¹ See in particular the thoughtful presentation of MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 213-241, and COWE (2004) on the theological development, as well as the still unpublished doctoral thesis of GREENWOOD (2000). For the problem of the Armenian Church's claim to apostolicity, otherwise unaddressed here, see below, III, n. 124. (Cross references will be given according to chapter [Roman capital] and note [Arabic lower case]. Where no chapter is indicated the cross reference is within the same chapter).

logical and substantial redirection in our evaluation of the Interregnum, a period during which no Armenian state was in existence, and by so doing attempt to create a new pattern and propose a new methodology for the study of Armenian history.

The concept of the fifth century A.D. as Armenia's "Golden Age" was the creation of the Mekhitarist scholars of the nineteenth century, and was based primarily on literary criteria. As such, it was justifiable since the second half of the fifth century saw the rapid development of Armenian original literature, inaugurated by Koriwn's *Life* of his teacher Maštoc' just before the middle of the century² - to be followed before the end of the same century by the *Buzandarank'* or *Epic Histories*, once attributed to an otherwise unknown P'awstos Buzand - and, at the turn to the sixth century, by the *History of Armenia* composed by Łazar P'arpec'i,³ who inaugurated one of the major genres of Armenian mediæval literature.

From a historical point of view, however, this characterization has proved far less felicitous or even tenable. As I have already had the occasion to observe in a number of previous studies, the Armenian lands; whatever their cultural similarity, had a tripartite political and administrative division until the last years of the fourth century. Their component parts consisted of: a) *Armenia minor*, west of the northern Euphrates, subdivided by that time into two ordinary Roman provinces, *Armenia I* and *Armenia II*; b) the kingdom of Armenia or Greater Armenia east of the river, ruled by a junior line of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty as clients of the Roman Empire under the terms of the unstable agreement of Rhandeia in A.D. 66; and finally, c) the southern, semi-autonomous Armeno-Mesopotamian principalities known as the *Satrapies* (ἐθνὴ or *gentes*), lying from west to east along the eastern Euphrates/Arsanias (modern Murad-su), whose allegiance to the Armenian crown remained at best equivocal.⁴ Hence, the term "Armenia" should not be used for a

² KORIWN, in the editions of ABELEAN (1941), with many reprints = English translation K-N (1964), and the German translation of WINKLER (1994), p. 92-138. This work exists in both a short and a long recension, both being given in the German translation. For a new edition see MINASEAN (1992) and MAT'EVOSYAN (1994). The order of this text has been questioned and re-arranged. See AKINEAN (1949), MAT'EVOSYAN (1990), WINKLER, *op. cit.*, and for a recent discussion of this and other problems as well as a new French translation, MAHÉ (1994-1995a), and ID., (2005-2007).

³ BP = BP-G; ŁP' = ŁP'-T. A version of the *History of Armenia* attributed to Agat'angelos is probably dated from the same period, but was subsequently reworked. See THOMSON (1976), p. xc, and ADONTZ (1970a), p. 266.

⁴ See GARSOĬAN (1998a), EAD. (2009a), etc.

single unit in this period, nor did it necessarily have the same meaning in Armenian and contemporary Greek sources, in the latter of which, the term "Armenia" usually refers to Roman *Armenia minor* and not to trans-Euphratine Greater Armenia.⁵ The Armenian Arsacid kingdom came to an end in 428, less than fifty years after its partition ca. 387 between Rome and Persia. This division⁶ left its major part, soon to be known as Persarmenia, to the Sasanians while the Romans acquired a far smaller territory east of the Euphrates known alternately as *Armenia Interior* and *Armenia Maior* as *pars pro toto*. This portion seems to have been held separately by the Empire as an atypical province, ruled at some still uncertain point by an official named the *comes Armeniae*, until the Justinianic reform of the imperial Armenian lands in 536.⁷ The ambiguous status and allegiances of the *Satrapies* varied in accordance with the Roman-Persian peace treaties of Nisibis in 299 and of Jovian in 363, which moved some of them in and out of the Roman sphere of influence. The western or Roman *Satrapies* lost their hereditary character in 488 as a result of their participation in the revolt of Illus⁸ and in 536, they were fused by the Justinianic reform into a single unit known as *Armenia IV*.⁹ The status of the eastern ones, as part of the Sasanian empire or as partially autonomous entities, still remains uncertain.¹⁰

The events of the middle of the fifth century further added to the earlier alterations. Persarmenia, replacing most of the now vanished Arsacid kingdom, was harrowed by the disastrous defeat of Awarayr in 451 at which the majority of the Armenian magnates, grouped around their hereditary commander-in-chief prince Vardan Mamikonean, chose martyrdom over apostasy in the face of the Sasanian attempt to reimpose Zoroastrianism on

⁵ See EAD. (1983), p. 149-158.

⁶ For these transformations, see EAD. (1998a, and 1999a).

⁷ EAD. (1999a), p. 11-14.

⁸ After 488, only Balabitenes/Balahovits seem to have preserved their hereditary rights until the reform of 536.

⁹ CJC, *Novella*, xxxi; ADONTZ (1970a), p. 35*. See below, p. 5 for Maurice's additional re-organization of the Empire's Armenian territories.

¹⁰ The reference to a "king of Arzanēnē", in the *Persian Acts of the Martyrs* seems to bespeak a considerable degree of autonomy for the region, as does Procopius' comment that the satraps of the western portion were entitled to wear the imperial purple shoes. GARSOLAN (1999a), p. 15-18. Similarly, the third part of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* maintains the separation between the satrapal lands of the East and Armenia proper, CHRON. ZUQ., p. 124 = trans., p. 111: "... others from among them [the Julianists] directed their course to the countries of Sophanēnē and Arzanēnē and entered also Armenia."

a Christian Armenia. In the main, they were annihilated by the Persians, thereby leaving their lands unprotected for a generation under the nominal rule of minor children, some of whom were held for a time as hostages in Persia. On the Roman side, we have already seen that the great administrative reform of Justinian, approximately one century later, redivided the imperial Armenian territories and fused them with parts of Pontus and the western *Satrapies*, to form four new Armenias. Yet another division in 591 returned to the Byzantine empire most of the lands of Persarmenia, simultaneously weakening the authority of its Church by the resultant transfer of its western bishoprics to the jurisdiction of Constantinople from which the Armenian kat'olikate was increasingly estranged.¹¹

Culturally, the Armenian plateau remained divided in two by its geography. The Araxēnē or northern portion, linked westward with Cappadocia, leaned toward the Hellenized, Classical world of the Mediterranean. Southern Armenia of the Vannic region and the *Satrapies* looked southward by way of Mesopotamia to the Syrian world of Edessa and Antioch. Until the creation of the Armenian alphabet at the beginning of the fifth century gave their own voice to the Armenians, and even in the subsequent period, Greek influence dominated the northern portion of the region, while Syriac prevailed in the South.

Still more importantly, the cohesiveness of Armenian Christianity was threatened by interior and exterior doctrinal transformations. Paralleling the cultural spheres, two centers had marked the Christianization of the Armenian lands. Aštišat in south-western Tarōn first received its traditions from the Syriac School of Antioch, while the subsequent mission of St. Gregory the Illuminator brought to Ējmiacin in the North the Hellenized Christianity of Cappadocia at the beginning of the fourth century. Thus, dogmatically as well as culturally, Armenia tended to remain divided; its autocephalous Church partially influenced in the south by the Dyophysite doctrine of Theodore of Mopsuestia and of the Persian Church of the Orient, and partially in the north-west by the Orthodox Christianity of the Byzantine empire and of the first œcumenical councils. As late as the middle of the sixth century, southern Armenian bishops still tended to favour a Dyophysite Christology, if we are to believe the *Letter of Blame* addressed to them by the kat'olikos Nersēs II.¹² By

¹¹ For a more extensive treatment of this material, see *inter alii*, GARSOIAN (1999a), chapter I.

¹² EAD. (1992), p. 69-74. NERSĒS II-II.

the second council of Duin of 555, however, the Armenian Church had officially anathematized the Dyophysite Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, formally adopted by the State Church of Persia, though another half century would be needed for its official final rejection in 607 of the fourth œcumenical council of Chalcedon, which it considered to have fallen into the same error.¹³

Under such divisive and altering circumstances it is difficult to view the fifth or sixth centuries as a "Golden Age", or to speak from a political or even doctrinal point of view of a single or centralized Armenia in this early period of its Christian history. In a previous study, as I have said, I sought to trace the gradual separation of the Armenian Church from both Persian and Constantinopolitan Christianity during the fifth and sixth centuries.¹⁴ Here, without attempting to delve exhaustively into political, textual and particularly theological problems, many of which still need elucidation, I should like to continue by turning to the largely neglected interval of the so-called "Dark Age", from the disappearance of the earlier units and of the native Arsacid dynasty to the accession of the Muslim Abbasid dynasty in the middle of the VIIIth century and the almost simultaneous beginning of the rise to power of the Bagratid house, a period for which I have proposed the name of "Interregnum", during which Armenia did not form a separate state but was divided politically and administratively between a Byzantine and Persian, subsequently an Arab, sphere.¹⁵ Reversing the hitherto dominant interpretation of Armenian history, which concentrated overwhelmingly on the interludes marked by political independence or at least virtual autonomy, the present study does not propose to by-pass the Interregnum, or to treat it negatively as a period of stagnation or regression. Its aim is rather to focus on those aspects which made of it the crucible in which the true constants of Armenian history appeared, or were consolidated, in the context of a period of statelessness, one in which the national identity achieved its true synthesis.

¹³ See on all this GARSOIAN (1999a).

¹⁴ *Idem.*

¹⁵ The accession of the Abbasids was to mark a major watershed in the situation of Armenia, cf. TER-GHÉVONDIAN (1986), p. 778, who probably exaggerates when he asserts that Armenia was becoming "un État souverain", autonomous and all but independent, under the Umayyads, but also concludes that the accession of the Abbasids inaugurated a sharp turn for the worse. See below, p. 22.

This task is by no means simple and has been hitherto complicated and to some degree distorted by a primarily political approach and an almost exclusive reliance on the surviving narrative histories and chronicles to the exclusion of other sources of information. The native narratives, however, are neither as abundant nor as satisfactory as those for the preceding period. The only approximately contemporary Armenian historical source to address the earlier period of the Interregnum is the seventh century *History* once attributed to bishop Sebēos, (completed ca. 660), which, despite its occasional chronological lapses, remains our main source for the end of the Sasanian dynasty in Iran.¹⁶ The problematic *History of (Caucasian) Albania* has received considerable attention in recent years. It is now held to be a compilation of several sources brought together between 982 and 988 by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, but incorporating earlier ones, some of which are indubitably contemporary with the events of the seventh century.¹⁷ As such, its value for a study of the period has unques-

¹⁶ [PS]-SEB = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J (1999), with the evaluation of Howard-Johnston, as well as HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2002) and the analysis of GREENWOOD (2000), p. 10-85, who sees the work as a compilation of several written and oral sources, presented in a generally chronological order and interpreting the tumultuous events of the period under consideration as the fulfillment of Old Testament apocalyptic prophecies. For the presumed terminal date of this *History*, see ZUCKERMAN (2007), p. 409. GREENWOOD (2000), p. 60-61, also accepts the *History* as the work of a contemporary of the events writing in the mid-seventh century down to the middle of 655, with the addition of three short notices taking the text down to 661. In spite of the defects noted by Howard-Johnston, and Greenwood, I have preferred on a number of occasions to follow the version of Pseudo-Sebēos as reflecting the contemporary native point of view.

¹⁷ Movsēs' *History of the Albanian People* has recently attracted considerable attention from scholars, who are in general agreement as to the composite nature of the work compiled by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i in the Xth century. Thus, it is not a contemporary composition, but one nevertheless incorporating seventh century material with little alteration. Disagreements persist, however, as to the precise nature of this material. For the most recent analyses of the *History*, see GREENWOOD (2000), HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2002), ZUCKERMAN (2007), p. 405-417, containing additional bibliography, and AKOPIAN (2009), continuing his earlier conclusions, ID. (1987). Akopian identifies several separate sources: a "History of the [Albanian] kat'olikos Viroy" (†629), a work which he attributes to an "Anonymous Kalankatuac'i" composed between 630 and 632, as well as a text to which he gives the title of *The History of 684*, derived from the presumed date of its composition. He has published all of these as separate works in MH, vol. IV, p. 361-375, and V, p. 793-895. HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2002), p. 52-62, generally accepts Akopian's four-fold division of the VIIth century material imbedded in Dasxuranc'i's Xth century compilation including a "Panegyric of Prince Juanšer" and accounts of the activity of the monk/bishop Esayi. The precise components of the compilation still remain debated. See GREENWOOD (2000)

tionably grown, but its focus on Caucasian Albania necessarily diverts its main attention away from the internal situation in Armenia, and its importance here bears on the conditions generally prevailing in Transcaucasia and the problems concerning the emperor Heraclius' eastern campaigns. Brief occasional details, particularly on the existence of an Armenian community in Jerusalem in the VIth century, can be obtained from the second part of the so-called *Anonymous Chronicle*.¹⁸ The main focus of the somewhat later *History of Lewond vartabed* is on the early period of Arab conquests and their gradual domination of the Armenian plateau.¹⁹ Except for the dubious IXth century collection misattributed to Šapuh Bagratuni,²⁰ the next great period of Armenian historiography would not come until the Bagratid period of the late ninth and early tenth centuries with the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i "the Historian" and his contemporary for the southern kingdom of Vaspurakan, T'ovma Arcruni, followed by the *Universal History* of Stephen of Tarōn or Asolik, writing at the turn of the eleventh century. Despite their use of earlier material and their treatment of preceding times complementing earlier accounts, these historians reflect, of necessity, the preoccupations and ethos of a different epoch.²¹ Even though it is still occasionally cited as a seventh century source, the *History of Tarōn*, attributed to Yovhannēs Mamikonean and held to be the continuation of Zenob Glak's earlier *History* of the same name, can no longer be relied upon as a contempo-

and ZUCKERMAN (2007), who rejects both Akopian's proposed composition, as well as the existence of the last postulated work, p. 407-409 et sq., and offers a different internal composition for the *History of the Albanian People*. See also MAHÉ (2008-2009). While the problem of Dasxuranc'i's compilation is unquestionably central for a reconstruction of VIIth century historiography, it remains to some degree marginal to the focus of the present study, as was observed by GREENWOOD (2000), p. 87-88: "This work is not focused upon Armenia but upon Aħuank'.... It is clear that in the seventh century, contemporaries considered the two to be separate countries."

¹⁸ ANON. This two part translation from the Greek has been attributed to Anania Širakac'i, AN. ŠIR. On the other hand, GREENWOOD (2008), p. 248-250 *et passim*, suggests that this complex and little known compilation, may have been the work of P'ilon Tirakac'i, the author of the Armenian version of Sokrates Scholastikos.

¹⁹ LEWOND. No recent edition or satisfactory translation of Lewond's work into a western language exists at present, though a long awaited one by B. Martin-Hisard is expected in the near future. Meanwhile, the old French translation of CHAHNAZARIAN (1856) remains preferable to the more recent English one.

²⁰ [PS.]-ŠAP. = English translation by THOMSON (1988-1989).

²¹ YK = YK-M, T'A = T'A-T, ASOLIK = (trans.) A-D, comprising the first part of the *History*.

rary witness, since the demonstration that the two works are in fact a single tenth century forgery.²²

These narrative sources, however, have proved insufficient in themselves and should be fleshed out by the information provided by additional material, if we are to gain a balanced evaluation of the Interregnum. Of particular importance are the surviving Greek translation of the Armenian Chalcedonian document known under the name of the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* dated by G. Garitte around A.D. 700,²³ and its later parallel text attributed to the Iberian kat'olikos of the eleventh century, Arsēn Sap'areli,²⁴ both of which present the Chalcedonian point of view opposed to that of the Armenian Church. Equally if not more important, as we shall see, is the *Armenian Geography* (*Ašḫarhac'oyc'*), whose disputed authorship, once presumed to have been ascribed to the historian Movsēs Xorenac'i, has most recently been attributed to the learned polymath Anania Širakac'i, but whose seventh century date has not been questioned.²⁵ Of great interest for the question of the development of monasticism in Armenia in this period is the insufficiently appreciated

²² The *History* attributed to Yovhannēs Mamikonean is still included as a separate seventh century work in *Matenagirk' Hayoc'*, vol. V, p. 971-1126, but see the demonstration by AVDOYAN (1993) as to the apocryphal nature of this work and to the tenth century date of the so-called *History of Tarōn* of which it purports to be the continuation and second part. Most of the VIIth and VIIIth century Armenian sources have been reprinted as part of the general chronological re-edition of Armenian classical sources in progress at Antelias: *Matenagirk' Hayoc'* (Hereafter, MH) vols. IV-VII, 2004-. Praiseworthy as is such an undertaking making a number of difficultly obtainable works available, it suffers from the reproduction of earlier editions often without attempting to substitute critical ones, and it occasionally gives formal status to "sources", such as the *History of 684*, vol. V, p. 799-895, whose independent existence remains as yet hypothetical, or to others, such as the *History of Tarōn*, by Ps.-Yovhannēs Mamikonean which is demonstrably a later forgery.

²³ *Narratio* = French translation by MAHÉ (1994-1995), p. 429-438. The recent hypothesis that the *Narratio* is an original Greek text produced by the Armenian Chalcedonians rather than a translation of an Armenian original, ARUTYUNOVA-FIDANYAN (2004), has not been generally accepted by scholars as against Garitte's magisterial study.

²⁴ ARS. SAP'. Despite their similarities, the *Treatise* of Arsen is by no means a mere translation of the *Narratio* and its date long held to be in the IXth century, has now been shifted to the XIth. See ALEKSIDZE (1980), p. 68, 207, MAHÉ (1996a), ALEKSIDZE-MAHÉ (2010), and GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 57 and n. 55. A French translation of this work by Mahé is found in ALEKSIDZE-MAHÉ (2010), p. 100-132.

²⁵ The *Geography* exists in both a long and a short recension. See AŠX for the Armenian text and a French translation of the long recension. For the English translation of both recensions, see HEWSEN (1992).

List of Armenian Monasteries in Jerusalem by the otherwise unknown Armenian cleric Anastas *Vardapet*, together with the contemporary *Letter* of the Chalcedonian patriarch of Jerusalem, John IV (574/5-580), which unexpectedly confirms the authenticity of some of the information in Anastas' *List*, albeit from the radically opposed doctrinal point of view.²⁶

The narrative histories further need to be complemented by the considerable information to be obtained from ecclesiastical documents such as the surviving *Acts* of the relevant councils. To be sure, some of the early Armenian canons are of dubious authenticity,²⁷ but the first Armenian *Book of Canons* promulgated by the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i in 719 officially set the dogmatic position finally reached by the Armenian Church during the Interregnum.²⁸ The collection known as the *Book of Letters* (*Girk' Tłt'oc'*) is composed of the official correspondence of the Armenian Church, though the absence of a critical edition makes its second portion, in particular, of questionable reliability.²⁹ Its inclusion of the exchange of letters leading to the schism between the Iberian and Armenian Churches, as well as of the official condemnation by Armenia of the council of Chalcedon, provides the crucial documentary evidence for these events. The seventh century compilation, known as *The Seal of Faith* (*Knik' Hawatoy*), probably composed around the time of the kat'olikos Komitas (611-628), though not by him, contains, as we shall see, material of primary importance for the evaluation of the movement of Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i.³⁰ To these should be added the already

²⁶ The text and English translation of Anastas' *List* are given in SANJIAN (1969). The text has also been recently reprinted in MH, vol. V, 2005, p. 1271-1279. JOHN IV, *Letter*, and its Latin translation, VARDANEAN (1912). On the problem of the dates of the pontificate of John IV, see GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 248, n. 13.

²⁷ GARSOĬAN (2005-2007), p. 190-194.

²⁸ YŌ (1834), p. 57-77; *Kanonagirk' I*, p. 514-537. See also MARDIROSSIAN (2004).

²⁹ There is as yet no critical edition of the entire *Book of Letters*, although this has been done for the seventh century portion regarding the correspondence between Armenia and Iberia leading to the doctrinal schism between the two Churches (GT'-III = ALEKSIDZE, 1968), which is consequently preferable for this period. Despite some transpositions and omissions, there are no crucial differences between the first edition of the entire text (GT'-I), INGLISEAN (1901) and the second (GT'-II), POLAREAN/BOGHARIAN (1994), but any variants will be indicated where applicable. A partial French translation of most of the first portion of this compilation, including the part dealing with the Armeno-Iberian schism is given as an appendix to GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 411-583. For the reliability of the second portion, see TALLON (1955).

³⁰ KH, originally published by TĒR MKRTČ'EAN (1914). The anastatic reprint of this edition (1944) mistakenly attributes it, however, to the kat'olikos Komitas. Cf. THOMSON (1995), p. 142, 196.

mentioned seventh century *Armenian Geography* (*Ašḫarhac'oyc'*). A few epigraphic testimonies from this period have survived as witnesses of the continued existence of the great aristocratic families recorded in the earlier Paleochristian period.³¹ Finally, the hitherto neglected visual material, especially the vast architectural development of the same century, must be given its indispensable economic and social consideration.³²

Whatever foreign material is available to supplement the information to be drawn from the native Armenian sources tends to be scarce and relatively unsatisfactory. No Persian historical sources of the Sasanian period have come down to us, with the exception of the increasingly abundant seals systematically published by Rika Gyselen.³³ The Byzantine historians are of considerable use for the interactions between Byzantium, the Armenian plateau, the Sasanians and subsequently the Arab Caliphate, but they concern themselves primarily with the foreign, political, and religious relations among them rather than with the interior aspects of the Armenian lands. Embassies and treaties are noted by Menander Protector,³⁴ and considerable chronological information can be gathered from the latter portion of the *Chronicon Paschale*.³⁵ Theophylakt Simokattes is the main source for the marginal late sixth century reign of the emperor Maurice (582-602), but his main focus is not directed toward Armenia.³⁶ The encomium of George of Pisidia on the victorious reconquests of the emperor Heraclius is limited in scope and often opaque.³⁷ The accounts of the Persian capture of Jerusalem in 614 complements the material quoted by Pseudo-Sebēos.³⁸ Once again, the major Greek histories, in particular the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor, writing between 810 and 814, as well as the *Breviarium* of the patriarch Nikephoros are useful but later in date and as such open to the possibility of a reinterpretation of the evidence.³⁹

³¹ The most convenient compendium of these is to be found in GREENWOOD (2004). No colophons are known for this early period.

³² *Inter alii*, THIERRY (s.d., Zodiaque), THIERRY-DONABEDIAN (1989), and most recently, DONABEDIAN (2008), who specifically identifies the seventh century as "L'âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne."

³³ GYSELEN (2002a and b).

³⁴ MEN. PROT. (1985), with an English translation.

³⁵ *Chron. Pasch.* (1832). English translation by WHITBY (1986).

³⁶ THEO. SIM. (1887/1972), WHITBY (1986).

³⁷ GEORG. PISID. (1939), with an Italian translation.

³⁸ ANASTASE LE PERSE (1994).

³⁹ THEO. CONF. (1883), English translation, MANGO-SCOTT (1997); NIKEPH. (1990). English translation, MANGO (1990).

Of episodic and comparative use for Armenia, though their interest is obviously not directed towards it, are the Syriac historians,⁴⁰ Joshua the Stylite, Ps.-Zacharias of Mitylene and John of Ephesus, for the latter part of the VIth century, who give the counterbalancing Monophysite view of the events described in the Nestorian accounts of the *Liber castitatis* and Thomas of Marga's *Book of Governors*.⁴¹ Of particular interest for the study of the spread of radical Julianist Monophysitism in Armenia is the third section of the slightly later *Chronicle* of the so-called Pseudo-Dionysios of Tel-Mahrē, also known as *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, incorporating as it does the lost second section of the *History* of John of Ephesus.⁴² Yet again, the much later *Chronicle* of the Jacobite patriarch Michael the Syrian (1066-1099), of which two Armenian Epitomes exist, preserves earlier material, such as a much fuller list of the Armenian participants at the council of Manazkert in 725/6, than has survived in Armenian,⁴³ as does the *Chronicle of Seert*.⁴⁴ Syriac accounts of the development of Persian monasticism and monastic rules are suggestive for the evolution of Armenian institutions.⁴⁵ The Arab accounts of al-Baladhuri, Ṭabarī and the early Arab geographers, such as Ibn Ḥawqal, need to be considered for the earlier material they incorporate, even though they too are considerably later in date.⁴⁶

From a conjunction of this variety of sources, the image of the Inter-regnum no longer matches the simplistic definition of it as merely a

⁴⁰ For a review of the extant Syriac sources concerning the VIIth century and their contribution, see BROCK (1976).

⁴¹ JOS. STYL., English translation, WRIGHT (1882/1968); PS. ZACH. RHET., *HE* (1924, with Latin translation); JOH. EPH., *HE* (1953) with a Latin translation; IŠŌ'DNĀḤ; THOM. MARGA.

⁴² CHRON. ZUQ. See p. xv-xvi, xxvi-xxix, for the incorporation of the second part of the *History* of John of Ephesus, as well as WITAKOWSKI (1987 and 1991). The so-called *Minor Chronicles*, except for the one usually known under the name of the *Anonymous Guidi*, have little to say directly concerning matters of interest to us here.

⁴³ MSS (1899-1910, repr. 1963) with a French translation; MSA-I (1870), French translation LANGLOIS (1868), MSA-II (1871). The two Armenian Epitomes are not identical so that the two editions, Jerusalem 1870 and 1871, should be considered separately.

⁴⁴ *Chron. Séert* (PO, 1910-1911), with numerous reprints.

⁴⁵ IŠŌ'DNĀḤ OF BAŞRA (1896), THOM. MARGA, with English translation (1893). VÖÖBUS (1960a-b). See *inter alii*, HONIGMANN (1951 and 1954) on Monophysite monasticism in the East. For a series of the most recent studies on Persian monasticism, primarily Nestorian, see CH. and F. JULLIEN (2005-2007).

⁴⁶ AL-BALADHURI (1836-1866), English translation, HITTI (1916/1968); ṬABARĪ (1879-1901), English translation (1999), German translation, NÖLDEKE (1879/1973); IBN ḤAWQAL (1938/1964), French translation, KRAMERS and WIET (1964).

"Dark Age"; nor can its importance be disregarded. Nevertheless, the traditional, primarily political interpretation, based in the main on narrative accounts, and focused on international rather than internal events, which has largely prevailed, may obviously not be disregarded. Consequently, some attention must first be paid to the events which form the background for this traditional interpretation before turning to the insufficiently appreciated other aspects of the period that may eventually suggest an altogether different evaluation thereof.

CHAPTER I

THE TRADITIONAL VIEW

For the historians of mediæval Armenia, the period of the Interregnum has offered little solace from a strictly patriotic or primarily political point of view, and the case for the destructive effect of various external and internal forces on the Armenian lands is easy to make. Not only was the long since vanished autonomous kingdom of the local Arsacid dynasty an increasingly fading memory, leaving behind not even a simulacrum of a state, but the entire epoch was one of divisive and debilitating warfare, only temporarily halted in 562 by the emperor Justinian's Fifty years' Peace between Byzantium and the Sasanians.¹ No sooner had the emperor Heraclius succeeded in reconquering the territories lost after the death of his predecessor Maurice, than the Arab raids westward and northward from Syria once again convulsed the Armenian plateau. Consequently, scholars have generally given either short shrift to this period or followed the lead of the contemporary native historians — the relatively straightforward Pseudo-Sebēos and his often more emotionally rhetorical successor, Łewond *vartabed* - who set the tone for a generally negative evaluation of the situation in Armenia during the Interregnum, especially after the coming of the Arabs:

Now who indeed is able to lament adequately over these wretched calamities? For everywhere the danger was intolerable ... he [Muhammad ibn Merwan] brought [such] anguish to our country that [it were better] to bless

¹ The aim of the present chapter is not to attempt a detailed reconstruction of the complicated political history of the Armenian plateau during the period from the second half of the VIth to the middle of the VIIIth centuries, nor of the disruptions caused by the shifting allegiances of the Armenian princes and their internal dissensions. Rather it has been to review briefly the evidence concerning the damage to the Armenian lands caused by the continuous attacks and counterattacks for which they served as a battleground. The examination of the accuracy of particular episodes, most of which have already been analysed by other scholars, is consequently not necessarily germane to its present purpose.

Armenian sources have been cited not because they are fuller or more impartial than the Greek or other ones, but because they present, for better or worse, the native point of view. For the pertinent Greek references, see Howard-Johnston's commentary on the *History* of Pseudo-Sebēos, [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II, *passim*, and ID. (1994), also GREATREX-LIEU (2002), p. 137-228, and notes *ad loc.*

the dead who have passed from this realm into peaceful rest than to bear a life of such oppressions.²

From the failure of the rebellion of Vardan II Mamikonean in 571/2,³ to and during the first Arab raids in the forties of the VIIth century and their gradual expansion over the plateau as well as into eastern Anatolia during the remainder of the century, the moments of peace and tranquility were admittedly few and far between. Armenia, alternately with Mesopotamia to the south, continued to be the theatre for the endemic wars of Byzantium against Persia and subsequently the Caliphate. Within the country, divided between Persian governors or *marzpan*s and Byzantine representatives, or Princes of Armenia, who were subsequently also named by the Arabs, the struggles for a preponderant position between the powerful native clans of the Mamikonean and the Bagratuni continued their course. These are the two aspects on which historians treating the period of the Interregnum have fastened almost exclusively, and although any attempt to rehearse the continuous campaigns of Armenia's great neighbours lies obviously beyond the scope of this study, their effect insofar as it touched specifically on the Armenian territories must be addressed even if cursorily, before any re-evaluation of the traditional approach may be attempted.⁴

Well before the shift of the earlier Byzantine frontier far to the east under the terms of the treaty of 591 between the emperor Maurice and the king of kings Xusrō II Aparwez, the configuration of the plateau had begun to change for the worse,⁵ nor was the damage wrought exclusively

² LEWOND, iii, p. 9, vii, p. 20: "Արդ ո՛վ արդեօք արժանաւորապէս ողբասցէ զթշուառութիւն աղետիցն. քանզի ամենայն ուստեք տնՀնարին էր վտանգն: ... և տագնապ Հասուցանէր աշխարՀիս՝ մինչև երանել զմեռեալսն, որք խաղաղական Հանգստեամբ յաշխարՀէս փոխեցան, քան այնպիսի նեղութեամբք զկենդանութիւն կրել:"

³ JOS. STYL., xxi, p. 14, who inexplicably says that Justin II refused to help the Armenians. Cf. [PS]-SEB, viii, p. 67 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 6; *Narratio*, §77, p. 37 = MAHÉ (1994-1995b), p. 434, GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 14. See also PLRE, IIIB, p. 1365, s.n. Vardan Mamikonian; HAnjB, V, p. 77 §11.

⁴ On the Persian wars of Maurice, see HIGGINS (1939), for those of Heraclius, KAEGI (2003), HOWARD-JOHNSTON (1994, 1999), and his commentary to Thomson's translation of the Pseudo-Sebeos, [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II. Exceptionally, MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007) p. 213-230, in particular, p. 217-222, takes a more sanguine approach to the early Arab period. See the next chapter, p. 33.

⁵ Roman troops under the command of the *magister militum per Armeniam* created under Justinian were apparently still stationed in the Imperial portion of the country since they came to participate in the campaign to restore Xusrō II to his throne in 591, THEO.

by the Persian side. According to the account of the Pseudo-Sebēos, the Greek soldiers sent by the emperor Justin II in 572 to support the Armenians at the time of their rebellion against Persia, incurred the enmity of the natives by their destruction of the Armenian church of Saint Gregory outside the Persian administrative capital of Duin in north-central Armenia:

Then in the 41st year of the reign of Khosrau [II], son of Kavat, Vardan [II Mamikonean] rebelled and rejected submission to Persian rule in unison with all the Armenians. They killed the *marzpan* Surēn, taking him by surprise in the city of Dvin, seized much booty, and turned their allegiance to the Greeks. ...

Then the Greek king made an oath with the Armenians. ... He gave them an imperial army in support. When they had received the army, they attacked the city of Dvin; after a siege they destroyed it from top to bottom and expelled the Persian troops who were stationed in it.

But suddenly a great tumult fell on them. For the Persians had turned the church of St. Gregory, which they had built near the city, into a storehouse. They [the Greeks] set it on fire and burned it. Therefore a great tumult befell them.⁶

Even before his accession to the throne, Maurice, as general for his predecessor the emperor Tiberius II, had ravaged in 577 the southern border territory of the former *Satrapy* of Arzanēnē, according to John of

SIM., V.viii.3, 6, repeated by THEO. CONF., AM 6081, p. 189: "Baram ... intended to prevent the armies that were marching from Armenia from uniting with Narses. For Maurice had ordered John Mystakon, the *magister militum per Armeniam*, to take his armies and unite with Narses so that they might jointly make war on Baram." Cf. HIGGINS (1939), p. 45.

⁶ [PS]-SEB, p. 67-68: "Եւ եղև ի ԽԱ, ամի թագաւորութեան Խոսրովայ որդւոյ Կաւատայ՝ ապստամբեաց Վարդան եւ ի բաց եկաց ի ծառայութենէ թագաւորութեանն Պարսից Հանդերձ միաբանութեամբ ամենայն Հայաստանեալք: Սպանեալ զՍուրէնն մարզպան յանկարծաւրէն ի Դուին քաղաքի՝ առին զաւար բազում եւ գնացին ի ծառայութիւն Յունաց: ...

Իսկ առ Հայոց երդնոյր թագաւորն Յունաց... եւ տայր նոցա զզաւրսն կայսերական յաւանութիւն: Եւ նոցա առեալ զզաւրն՝ դիմեցին ի վերայ քաղաքին Դրւնայ եւ պաշարեալ կործանեցին ի վերուստ մինչև ի վայր, եւ Հալաձեցին զզաւրն Պարսից որ ի նմա կային:

Բայց եւսս ի վերայ նոցա յանկարծաւրէն խռովութիւն մեծ, զի զեկեղեցի սրբոյն Գրիգորի, որ շինեալ էր մերձ ի քաղաքն, էին արարեալ Համբարանոցս Պարսիկքն, Հարին Հուր եւ այրեցին, վասն որոյ եղև նոցա խռովութիւն մեծ: " = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 6-7; EVAGR., vii-viii, p. 422-3, as against JOS. STYL. (see above, n. 3), likewise says that Justin II promised to help the Armenians although he made no preparations, and the war carried on by his general Marcian was primarily centered on Mesopotamia. For the growing religious antagonism between Byzantium and the Armenians underlying these events, see also, GARSOIAN (1999a), p. 267-282.

Ephesus, and a portion of its Christian population had been resettled by the Byzantine authorities on the island of Cyprus.⁷ Imperial Armenia proper was under the military authority of the *magister militum per Armeniam*, the post created under Justinian, one of whom *ca.* 595 was Heraclius the Elder, the father of the future emperor.⁸ The new territorial subdivision in 591 ceded the majority of the Armenian lands to Byzantium in return for the aid given by Maurice to the young Xusrō II in his reconquest of the Sasanian throne,⁹ but the temporary halt in hostilities between the two great powers does not seem to have benefitted Armenia. Even though the emperor's *Letter* cited by the Pseudo-Sebēos is most likely apocryphal:

At that time the king of the Greeks, Maurice, ordered a letter of accusation to be written to the Persian king concerning all the Armenian princes and their troops: 'They are a perverse and disobedient race, he said; they are between us and cause trouble. Now come, I shall gather mine and send them to Thrace, you gather yours and order them to be taken to the east. If they die, our enemies die; if they kill, they kill our enemies; but we shall live in peace. For if they remain in their own land, we shall have no rest.'

They both agreed. The emperor began to give orders that they should gather them all and send them to Thrace. He strongly insisted that the command was carried out.¹⁰

⁷ JOH. EPH., *HE*, Part III, VI.xv, p. 236: "Mauricius autem comes ... toto exercitu suo collecto ad Arzun regionem opulentam Persarum impetu irae cursum direxit. ... Et ingressi vastaverunt et diruerunt et captivos multos ex eis deduxerunt; et *loca* expugnaverunt et usque ad Tigrem pervasserunt, et descendit et captivos abduxit et diruit et totam regionem incendit. ... Itaque pars magna eorum (the Christian population), quicunque e caede evasisit, fugit ad terram Romanorum exiit, magna pars regionis Arzenaye. Quamobrem, cum haec regi cognita essent, mandavit et ad Cyprum insulam missi sunt." This first massive deportation does not seem to have been noted by the Armenian sources, although both it and the devastation of Arzanēnē, which is seen as distinct from Armenia proper, were also known to THEO. SIM., iii.15-16.

Despite the flaws, noted by Howard-Johnston (*vide supra*, Prologue, n: 16), I have generally preferred to follow the native accounts of the Pseudo-Sebēos and to a lesser degree the more rhetorical work of Lewond the Priest primarily because they are the ones most directly focused on Armenia and reflecting the native point of view. For the parallel evidence of the Greek sources, see Howard-Johnston's commentary to Thomson's translation of Sebēos, [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II, *passim*.

⁸ THEO. SIM, ii.3.2, 5.19, 6.4, 9.17, 10.1-4, 6, 18.1-4, xii.1.1, 6.2, PLRE, III/1, "Heraclius" §3, p. 384-386. Cf. KAEGI (2003), p. 21-23.

⁹ On the Armenian lands ceded by the Persians to the Byzantine empire in 591, see GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 264-267, also GOUBERT (1951), p. 290-295.

¹⁰ [PS]-SEB, xv, p. 86-87: "Յայնմ ժամանակի թագաւորն Յունաց Մարիկ Հրամայէ գրել առ թագաւորն Պարսից զիր ամբաստանութեան վասն իշխանացն ամենայն

The hostility of Maurice, if not of Xusrō, toward the Armenians expressed itself both in his religious policy¹¹ and in his use of Armenian troops in the Balkans, where the distinguished general, prince Mušel Mamikonean, and “a great number of Armenian nobles and troops were exterminated and slaughtered”.¹² A massive administrative reorganization was once more imposed on the Imperial Armenian territories:

Then the Emperor Maurice arrogantly changed the nomenclature of those provinces which our own Aram had successively demarcated. First of all Maurice renamed the country whose metropolis is Sebasteia and which was known as ‘First Armenia’, ‘Second Armenia’. He renamed Cappadocia, whose metropolis is Caesarea and which was formerly known as ‘Second Armenia’, ‘Third Armenia’ and turned it into an eparchy. He renamed Melitene, which has districts of the same name and is known as ‘Third Armenia’, ‘First Armenia’. He annexed Pontus, whose metropolis is Trebizond, to Greater Armenia. He registered in the imperial archives the so-called ‘Fourth Armenia’, whose metropolis is Martyropolis — that is Np’rkert, as Yustinianunist [Seat of Justinian]. Turning to the province of Karin, whose metropolis is T’ēodupolis, he annexed it to Greater Armenia. And he renamed that part of Greater Armenia which extended from the region of Basean to the borders of Assyria [Asorestan] and had remained in the hands of the Greeks, ‘Greater Armenia’. He named the region of Tayk’ with her boundaries, ‘Inner Armenia’ [= *Armenia Profunda*] and the region around the city of Dvin, ‘Innermost Armenia’ [= *Armenia Interior*]. Thus Maurice introduced all these changes and registered them in the imperial archives.¹³

Հայաստանեայց և զաւրաց իւրեանց: «Ազգ մի խոտոր և անՀնազանդ են, ասէ, կան ի միջի մերում և պղտորեն: Բայց եկ, ասէ, ես զիմս ժողովեմ և ի Թրակէ գումարեմ. և դու զքոյդ ժողովէ և Հրամայէ յԱրեւելս տանել: Զի եթէ մեռանին՝ թշնամիք մեռանին. և եթէ սպանանեն՝ զթշնամիս սպանանեն. և մեք կեցցուք խաղաղութեամբ: Զի եթէ դոքա յերկրի իւրեանց լինիցին՝ մեզ Հանգչել ոչ լինի»:

Միաբանեցան երկոքին. Եւ սկսաւ կայսրն Հրաման տալ, զի ժողովեցեն զամենեսեան և ի Թրակէ գումարեցեն. և սաստիկ տազնապէր՝ Հրամանն կատարէր:” = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 31. Cf. GOUBERT (1951), p. 76-77.

¹¹ See [PS]-SEB, xix, p. 91 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 37 and GARSOYAN (1999a), p. 267-282, for Maurice’s ecclesiastical policy and its repercussions on the Armenian church. However, *ibid.*, p. 357, 376-384, for the benevolence shown to the Armenians by Xusrō II.

¹² [PS]-SEB, xviii, p. 91: “Եւ ձերբակալ արարին զՄուշեղն Մամիկոնեան... և սպանին: Եւ բազմութիւն նախարարացն և զաւրացն Հայաստանեայց յաւուր յայնմիկ կործանեալ սատակեցան:” = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 36.

¹³ YK, xvi, p. 88-89 = YK-M, p. 94: “Ապա կայսերն Մօրկայ ձեռներիցութեամբ իմն փոփոխումն արարեալ անուանց աշխարհացն այնոցիկ, որ ի մերոյն Արամայ կարգաւ եղեալ էր: Եւ նախ զԱրմենին զայն որ առաջին Հայքն անուանիր, երկրորդ Հայք զնա Մօրիկ կոչեաց, յորում մայրաքաղաք է Սեւաստիա: Իսկ զԿապադովկիա՝ յորում մայրաքաղաք Կեսարիա և երկրորդ Հայք նախ անուանիր, կոչէ զնա երրորդ Հայք, և առնէ զնա Եպարքի:

As a result of what they considered to be their oppression by Byzantium, the Armenian *naḫarars* continued to revolt and flee to the Persian sector, as in the cases, cited by Pseudo-Sebēōs, of Samuēl Vahewuni with his companions,¹⁴ of Atat Xorxoruni¹⁵ and especially of Smbat Bagratuni, who was to become the favourite of the king of kings Xusrō II.¹⁶

The murder of Maurice in November 602 and the imperial accession of Phokas in Constantinople¹⁷ brought back the perpetual state of war between the two great powers, since Xusrō II used the pretext of avenging the murder of his “spiritual father” to launch an attack on the Empire, and to retake all the Armenian territories ceded in 591. The Persian armies reached southward to capture Jerusalem in 614 and westward across Anatolia to Chalcedon.¹⁸ Troubles on his western front and at home delayed the response of Heraclius, but beginning in 621 the imperial armies after several campaigns finally succeeded in reaching the suburbs of the Persian capital and in provoking the coup d’état which

Իսկ զՄելիտինէ՝ որ ունի զՀամանուն իւր գաւառս, է և երրորդ Հայք, կոչէ զնա առաջին Հայք: Իսկ զՊոնտոս՝ յորում մայրաքաղաք է Տրապիզոն, կոչէ զնա մոսն մեծ Հայոց: Եւ զչորրորդն կոչեցեալ Հայք՝ յորում մայրաքաղաք մարտիրոսաց պօլիս՝ այսինքն Նփրկէրտ, Յուստիանունիստ զնա գրէ ի զիւան արքունի: Դարձեալ զաշխարհն Կարնոյ՝ յորում մայրաքաղաք է Թէոդուպօլիս, անուանէ զնա մեծ մասն մեծ Հայոց: Եւ որ ի մեծն Հայոց մասն ինչ մնացեալ էր ի ձեռս Հռոմոց՝ կողմանց անտի Բասենոյ մինչև ի սաՀմանս Ասորեստանի, մեծ Հայք զնա կոչէ: Իսկ զկողմանս Տայոց սաՀմանօքն իւրովք Հանդերձ՝ խորագոյն Հայք անուանէ, և զկողմն Դվին քաղաքի՝ ներքսագոյն Հայք: Այսպէս ամենեցունց սոցա փոփոխումն արարեալ Մօրկայ՝ գրէ ի զիւանս արքունի:” On the administrative reorganization of Maurice, see GOUBERT (1951), Appendices 10-11, p. 290-302.

¹⁴ [PS]-SEB, xvi-xvii, p. 87-89 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 32-3.

¹⁵ Ibid., xxx, p. 104-105 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 54-56.

¹⁶ [PS]-SEB, xx, xxiv-xxix, p. 91-93, 96-104 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 38-40, 43-54. Cf. THEO. SIM., III.vii.14-viii.8. On the basis of Theophylakt, HIGGINS (1939), p. 38-39, 73, dates this Armenian revolt around 590. On the career of Smbat Bagratuni, presumably taken from a lost biography, see Thomson, [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. lxvii-lxviii; II, p. 178-179, 181-189. Although two Smbats have occasionally been postulated, one in the Byzantine empire the other in Persia (see HANJB, below), both Thomson and Howard-Johnston, as well as GOUBERT (1951), p. 197-204, take him to be one and the same person. On the favour shown him in Persia and the basis of his authority in Armenia, see GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 357-361, 378-382, and EAD. (2004), also PLRE, IIIB, p. 1209-1210, s.n. Symbatus i and iv, p. 539-540 §13 and 14.

¹⁷ *Chron. Pasch.*, p. 142-143: “Indiction 5, year 20 (602) ... in the month of November of the same indiction ... on the 27th of the same month, a Tuesday, Maurice himself was slain near Chalcedon.”

¹⁸ HOWARD-JOHNSTON (1999).

resulted in the overthrow and murder of Xusrō II in February 628.¹⁹ The details of the marches and countermarches of the Byzantine and Persian armies and the problems they present do not concern us directly here, but there can be little doubt that, in spite of the support he seems to have received from the Christians in Caucasia,²⁰ Heraclius' reconquest of the territories taken by the Persians had a damaging effect on the region,²¹ as did his eventual imposition of a doctrinal union with Byzantium on the Armenian church at the council of Theodosiopolis in 632.²² Military operations begun almost immediately after the murder of Maurice and campaigns in Armenia as well as Mesopotamia brought about, among others, the capitulation to the Persians of the fortress of Karin/Theodosiopolis, the northern anchor point of the Byzantine defense system in the East, even before the overthrow of Phokas in Constantinople. Nor was Heraclius successful in retaking this crucial fortress until 624.²³

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 26; ID. (2004), p. 96-97.

²⁰ ID. (2004), p. 104-105, and below, p. 29.

²¹ On the various campaigns and an analysis of the sources pertaining to them, see [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II, p. 193-194, and HOWARD-JOHNSTON (1999). The information of STRATOS (1968-1980) concerning Armenia is often out of date or mistaken, such as the assertion that in 596 a (otherwise unknown) "new synod at Dovin ratified the rift between the Byzantine and Armenian Churches", I, p. 22. His work relating to that subject should therefore be used with caution.

²² The question of whether or not the military policies of Heraclius, as well as his attempt to find a solution to the opposition of the the eastern Churches, to what they considered the Dyophysite character of the Chalcedonian symbol through his support first of Monoenergy and subsequently of Monothelitism, were due to his own Armenian background, as has been maintained by GRÉGOIRE (1946) and SHAHID (1972); KOUYUMJIAN (1983) does not concern us directly here. The damage brought to the country by the emperor's campaigns and his winter sojourns on the plateau was manifest, irrespective of his intentions or possible ethnic background, just as had been the case for the earlier heavy-handed religious policy of Maurice, for whom an Armenian ancestry has also been claimed. The dogmatic concessions made by the Armenian kat'olikos Ezr merely deepened the division and antagonism between the conciliatory and obdurate parties within Armenia. On the probability that the doctrine which Ezr had accepted at the council of 632 was Monothelite rather than fully Chalcedonian, see below, chapter III, p. 60, and III, n. 13.

²³ [PS]-SEB, xxxi-xxxiii, p. 107-112 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 58-64; *Narratio* §112, p. 41, which places the capture of Theodosiopolis by the Persians in the fifth year of Phokas. The coup d'état ending Phokas' reign began October 3rd, 610. CHRON. PASCH., p. 149-150: "Indiction 13 year 8 [610]... in the month of Hyperberetaeus, on October 3rd according to the Romans". On the basis of the data given by Theophanes and Michael Syrus, Dagron places the Persian reconquest of Armenia in 609: "... 609... cette année-là

The renewal of the campaigns of Heraclius furthermore caused the Byzantine army to go into winter quarters in the northern Caucasian Albanian capital of Partaw in 624/5, having "caused as much damage as it could to the cities in its path, including Duin."²⁴ The following winter was likewise spent in the field near Lake Van,²⁵ while the Persians maintained themselves in the Armenian administrative capital of Duin, in the central province of Ayrarat, although Heraclius then "ravaged it and Nakhchawan" on his new campaign which succeeded in destroying the great Persian royal fire temple at Ganjak in Atrpatakan.²⁶ Without going into further detail, and even though both the chronology as well as some of the actual routes of many of the operations are difficult to reconstruct from the available sources,²⁷ the maintenance of the Byzantine and Persian armies in winter quarters far from their homeland and their marches back and forth across the Armenian plateau were obviously a severe drain on the welfare of the country and on its stability.²⁸

les troupes de Khosrau conquièrent l'Arménie et franchirent l'Euphrate; l'effondrement ne se produisit qu'en 610", DAGRON-DEROCHÉ (1991), p. 19 and n. 7.

For the recapture of Karin, see [PS]-SEB, xxxviii, p. 124 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 81; cf. II, p. 215.

²⁴ HOWARD-JOHNSTON (1999), p. 16-17.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

²⁶ [PS]-SEB, xxxviii, p. 124: "Չուեաց գնաց Երակլոս... և ճանապարհ կալեալ ընդ կողմանս Հիւսիսոյ՝ ել դէպ ուղիղ ի Կարնոյ քաղաք, և Հասեալ ի Դուին այրարատեան՝ աւերէ զնա և զՀախճաւան: Եւ դիմեալ ի Գանձակ Ատրպատականի կործանէ և զբազինս Հրատին մեծի, որում Վշնասպն կոչին:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 81. For the Persians at Duin, see ibid., xxxii, p. 107-108: "Իսկ Ջուանն Վեհ, զոր արձակեաց ի կողմանս Հայոց Հանդերձ զաւրու իւրով՝ երթեալ Հասանէ յԱյրարատ գաւառ ի Դուին քաղաք ի ձմերային ժամանակի, և դադարեալ Հանգուցանէ զղաւրս իւր մինչև ի գալ Հասանեւ գարնայնոյ ժամանակի:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 59. Likewise, [PS]-SEB, xxxiv, p. 112 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 66: "the Persian army wintered in Armenia.

²⁷ HOWARD-JOHNSTON (1999), p. 3 *et passim*.

²⁸ E.g., the march of the Persian general Šahēn together with his army from Karin to Melitene, [PS]-SEB, xxxiv, p. 113 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 66, and many others. For the reconstructions of the various itineraries, the chronological confusions and the disagreement of the sources, see e.g., Howard-Johnston's commentary in [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, xxxviii, II, p. 213-218, and HOWARD-JOHNSTON (1999), *passim*. The damage of the continuous campaigns on the Armenian economy, at least during the period of Arab domination, is noted by TER LEWONDYAN (1984), p. 203: "L'examen des sources historiques montre que, sous la domination arabe, l'Arménie ne maintient pas le haut niveau économique du VII^e siècle. Sans nul doute, le commerce qui se faisait par la voie du transit international passant par l'Arménie se réduisit considérablement car les guerres incessantes... entre le califat arabe et l'empire Byzantin... entravèrent gravement les échanges... le commerce

The disappearance of the Persian Empire in the middle of the VIIth century and the beginning of the Arab expansion²⁹ did not at first halt the attempts of Byzantium to keep a hold over its Armenian territories, as well as to reestablish a religious union. To the end of the century and the beginning of the next, the successors of Heraclius, Constans II (641-668) and Justinian II (685-695, 705-711) continued his policy, though their struggle now turned, as we shall see, against the rapidly intensifying Arab raids.

In 653 Constans II came to Armenia, not only to oppose the Arab claim to the country, but to impose his control over the restive Armenian *naḫarars*, including his own representative prince T'ēodoros Ṛštuni, who was shifting his allegiance to the Arabs, as well as over the kat'olikos Nersēs III.³⁰ He wintered in Armenia, as had his grandfather Heraclius, and Pseudo-Sebēos lays great, possibly exaggerated, emphasis on the deleterious results of this episode:

In that same year the Armenians rebelled and removed themselves from [allegiance to] the Greek kingdom.

Then king Constans ... took his army and went to Armenia with 100,000 (troops). When he reached Derjan, some Ismaelite men ... presented him with a letter from their prince, which was written in the following terms: 'Armenia is mine, do not go there. But if you do, I shall attack you, and I shall ensure that you will be unable to flee from there.' King Constans responded, 'That land is mine and I am going there ...' He left there and came to the city of Karin in the 12th year of his reign ...

King Constans remained in the city of Karin for a few days. The princes and troops of the so-called Fourth Armenia and also all the other troops and princes who had left the Ṛshtuni territory met him ... The Catholicos Nersēs, who had come from Tayk' also met him.

All the princes explained to the king the intentions and plan for rebellion of the lord of Ṛshtunik'...

King Constans, when he heard this, desired the multitude of his army to engage in plunder and go to winter in Armenia, so that he might destroy the country. Then the Catholicos ... and all the princes fell on their faces ... and requested mercy, lest on account of their trespasses he be totally

de transit qui apportait de grands bénéfices à l'Arménie se réduisit fortement." Cf. MANANDIAN (1965), p. 129: "The period of the Arab domination and in particular the last years of the VIIth and the entire VIIIth century were for Armenia a time of severe trials and catastrophes which injured her internal prosperity and had the most negative effect on her economic development." However, see below, p. 30-33.

²⁹ [PS]-SEB, xlvi, p. 164-168 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 135-136, and commentary, II, p. 264-267.

³⁰ On T'ēodoros Ṛštuni, see *inter alii*, PLRE IIIB, p. 1282-1283, s.n. Theodorus Rshtuni §167; and HANJB, II, p. 298-299 §6.

angered and ruin the country. The king heeded their entreaties and sent away the larger part of his army. He himself went to Ayrarat with 20,000 men. Coming to Dvin, he stayed in the residence of the Catholicos. ... He likewise sent some of his troops to Iberia, Aḥuank', and Siwnik', ... But Aḥuank' and Siwnik' and *Sephakan gund* did not submit. They [the imperial forces] pillaged their lands, took away whatever they found, and returned to the king.³¹

In his second visit to Armenia in 659/60, Constans sought to take advantage of the Arab civil war following the murder of the caliph 'Ut'man and the return of the Armenian princes to their Byzantine allegiance to re-establish his control over the increasingly ravaged land:

Now when the springtime arrived... the Arabs attacked the Greeks who were assaulting the fortress of Nakhchawan. They defeated them, slew them with the sword, and put the survivors to flight.... Then the army of Ismael turned back from them, besieged the city of Karin... Having entered the city, they collected gold and silver and all the large amount of the city's wealth. They ravaged all the land of Armenia, Aḥuank' and Siwnik', and stripped all the churches. They seized as hostages the leading princes of the country, and the wives, sons and daughters of many people.³²

³¹ [PS]-SEB, xlviii, p. 164-166: "Եւ ի նմին ամի ապստամբեցին Հայք և ի բաց կացին ի թագաւորութենէն Յունաց և Հնազանդեցան ի ծառայութիւն արքային Իսմայելի..."

Յայնժամ արքայ Կոստանդին... առ զգաւրս իւր և զնաց ի Հայս ծ Հազարաւ: Եւ իբրեւ եւս ի Դերջան ընդ առաջ եղեն նմա արք իսմայելացիք և մատուցին նմա թուղթ յիշխանէն իւրեանց, որ էր գրեալ այսպէս, թէ «Հայք իմ են, անդ մի՛ երթար. ապա թէ երթաս՝ ես գամ ի վերայ քոյ, և առնեմ զքեզ որ անդրէն փախչել ոչ կարես»: Իսկ արքայ Կոստանդին ասէ. «Աշխարհն իմ է՝ ես երթամ...». Եւ անտի գնացեալ եկն ի Կարնոյ քաղաք. յամի ԺԲ-երոորդի թագաւորութեան իւրում...

Եւ նստաւ արքայ Կոստանդին ի Կարնոյ քաղաքի աւուրս ինչ. անդ ընդ առաջ եղեն նմա իշխանք և զաւրք Չորրորդն կոչեցեալ Հայոց, և այլ ամենայն զաւրք և իշխանք, որ յայնմ կողմանէ գնացեալ էին յՌշտունականէն: ... Ընդ առաջ եղև նմա կաթուղիկոսն Ներսէս, եկեալ ի Տայոց: Եւ պատմեցին ամենայն իշխանքն թագաւորին և զմիտս և զկամս ապստամբութեան Ռշտունհեաց տեառն...

Իսկ արքայ Կոստանդին իբրեւ զայն լուաւ՝ կամեցաւ առնուլ աւար զգաւրացն բազմութեան, և երթալ ձմերել ի Հայս, զի բարձգէ զերկիրն ի միջոյ: Եւ անդէն անկան ի վերայ երեսաց իւրեանց կաթուղիկոսն և... ամենայն իշխանաւքն Հայոց, և մեծաւ աղաչանաւք և արտասուլից պաղատանաւք խնդրեցին որոգմութիւն, զի մի՛ ըստ նոցա յանցանացն իսպառ բարկասցի և զերկիրն կորուսցէ: Լուաւ արքայ պաղատանացն նոցա և արձակեաց անդրէն զգաւրացն բազմութիւնն. և ինքն զնաց յԱյրարատ Ի Հազարաւ: Եւ երթեալ ի Դուին՝ նստաւ ի տան կաթուղիկոսին: ... նոյնպէս արձակեաց ի զաւրաց իւրոց ի Վիրս և Աղուանս և ի Սիւնիս՝ ... Բայց Աղուանն և Սիւնին և զունդն Սեպակական ոչ Հնազանդեցան, զորոց զերկիրն աւար առեալ տարան զինչ և գտին, և դարձան անդրէն առ արքայ:» = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 135-139.

³² [PS]-SEB, lii, p. 174: "Արդ՝ ի Հասանել Ժամանակի գարնայնոյն՝ ... արշաւեաց Տաճիկն ի վերայ Յունին, որ մարտ եղեալ կողմէն ընդ բերդին Նախճաւանի, եւար զնոսս և

But the departure of the emperor to the West in 660 and the ultimate victory of the Umayyad Mu'āwiyah soon put an end to his attempt.³³

Justinian II sought to renew once again Constans II's policy of domination over Armenia, profiting from the compromise treaty with the Caliphate whereby the revenue from Armenia and Iberia was to be divided between Byzantium and the Arabs.³⁴ In the second year of his first reign he turned once more to the East in a raid with the usual damaging results to the Armenian territories:

And in the second year of the reign of the emperor Yustinianos, ... he sent a large [force] to the land of Armenia, having come, it ravaged our country with pillage, they set many magnificent buildings on fire, destroyed them reducing them to ruin, and they themselves returned to their own country.³⁵

Thereafter, Justinian II and the emperors ruling between his two reigns primarily concerned themselves with internal problems as well as with the growing power of the Caliphate, and seem less involved directly with Armenia itself, except for the equally destructive northern incursions of their Khazar allies.³⁶ The theatre of war moved westward into Anatolia in the VIIIth century, while the Arabs consolidated their domination of the Armenian plateau. Even so, the later victorious campaign of reconquest, which carried the imperial armies as far as Theodosiopolis/Karin and Melitene in the middle of the century under the Isaurian emperor Constantine V, once more proved damaging, not so much through direct

սատակեաց ի սուր սուների, և զմնացեալսն փախստական արարեալ: ... Իսկ զաւրն իսմայելի դարձաւ ի նոցանէ և պաշարեաց զԿարնոյ քաղաք.... Եւ նոցա մտեալ ի քաղաքն ժողովեցին ոսկի և արծաթ և զամենայն բաղմութիւն ընչից քաղաքին. և կողոպտեաց զամենայն երկիրն Հայոց, զԱղուանս, զՍիւնիս, և մերկացոյց զամենայն եկեղեցիս: Եւ կալաւ պատանդ զգլխաւոր իշխանս աշխարհին և զկանայս և զուստերս և զղստերս բազմաց:" = [PS]-SEB/T-H-J, I, p. 150.

³³ [PS]-SEB, lii, p. 174-176 = [PS]-SEB/T-H-J, I, p. 149-154, II, p. 282-287.

³⁴ THEO. CONF., p. 363 = THEO. CONF., Eng tr., p. 506; cf. OSTROGORSKY (1969), p. 129.

³⁵ LEWOND, v, p. 17: "Եւ յերկրորդում ամի թագաւորութեանն Յուստինուսի կայսեր, ... առաքէ զօր բազում ի վերայ աշխարհիս Հայոց. որք եկեալ աւերեցին զաշխարհս աւարառութեամբ և զբազում գեղեցկայարմար շինուածս Հրձիգ արարին յաւեր դարձուցանելով, և ինքեանք դառնային յաշխարհն իւրեանց...". Justinian II's journey to Armenia in the second year of his reign is also recorded in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor, though he has nothing to say about the emperor's dealings with the native princes or on the subject of damages wrought by the imperial troops in the country, THEO. CONF., p. 364 = THEO. CONF., Eng tr., p. 507: "[AM 6179, AD 686/7] ... Justinian second year ... The emperor went to Armenia and there received the Mardaite of Lebanon."

³⁶ See below, n. 45 and II, n. 40.

ravages, since the military operations generally remained on the western periphery of the plateau, as through the alteration of its demography, because of Constantine's recourse to the preceding century's practice of transporting Armenians westward to strengthen his Balkan frontier:

[AM 6243, AD 750/1]

Constantine, 11th year ...

In the same year Constantine occupied Theodosiupolis as well as Melitene and conquered the Armenians...

[AM 6247, AD 754/5]

Constantine 15th year ...

The emperor Constantine transferred to Thrace the Syrians and Armenians whom he had brought from Theodosiupolis and Melitene ...³⁷

The campaign of Constantine V ended for a time the Byzantine attempts to control Armenia as an extension of its empire. But the situation had already altered for the worse with the end of Heraclius' reign approximately one century earlier, since from this time on Armenia also found itself simultaneously under attack from the south and the east by the new Arab incursions, probably entering the plateau through the pass of Bitlis, which by 640 reached all the way to Duin, the Persian administrative capital of Armenia:

A destructive army came from Asorestan along the road of Dzor to the land of Taron, they seized it and Bznunik' and Añiovit. Continuing their march to the valley of Berkri through Ordspoy and Gogovit, they debouched in Ayrarat.... Then crossing the bridge of the Metsamawr they inflicted the whole land with raiding and gathered very much booty and many captives. They came and camped at the edge of the forest of Khosrovakert.

On the fifth day they attacked the city. It was delivered into their hands The enemy rushed within and put the multitude of the population to the sword. Having plundered the city, they came out and camped in the same encampment. It was the 20th of the month of Trē, a Friday. After staying a few days, they left by the same route that they had come, leading away the host of their captives, 35,000 souls.³⁸

³⁷ THEO. CONF, I, p. 427, 429: "καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Κωνσταντῖνος τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν παρέλαβεν ἅμα τῇ Μελιτηνῇ, καὶ ἡχμαλώτευσεν τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ... ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος Σύρους τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους, οὓς ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως καὶ Μελιτηνῆς, εἰς τὴν Θράκην μετέκτισεν." = THEO. CONF., Eng tr., p. 590, 604, and note. It is noteworthy that no mention is made of Constantine V's reconquest in the *History* of Yovhannēs Kat'olikos, possibly because the emperor's activity around Karin and Melitene lay on the periphery of the Armenian heartland.

³⁸ [PS]-SEB, xlii, p. 138: "Եւ ել զաւր ապականիչ յԱսորեստան կողմանէ ընդ ճանապարհս Ջորոյ յաշխարհն Տարաւնոյ, առին զնա և զԲզնունիս և զԱնիովիտ: Եւ ճանապարհ կալէալ ի

Nearly the same account is given by Lewond *vartabed*, although he misdates the capture of Duin, as was noted by Howard-Johnston.³⁹ Without attempting to detail the damage caused to their country by the successive Arab raids bewailed by the Armenian historians,⁴⁰ suffice it to say that, according to Pseudo-Sebēos, as we saw earlier, the caliph could already claim to Constans II in 653/4 that Armenia "is mine", because of the shift in the allegiance of the native Armenian princes:

In that same year the Armenians rebelled and removed themselves from [allegiance to] the Greek kingdom and submitted to the king of Ismael. T'ēodoros, lord of R̄shtunik', with all the Armenian princes made a pact with death and contracted an alliance with hell abandoning the divine covenant.⁴¹

Բերկրոյ ձորն ընդ որդսպոյ և ընդ Գոգովիտ՝ Թափեցան յԱյրարատ: ... Ապս անցեալ ընդ կամուրջն Մեծամարի՝ Հարին ասպատակաւ զամենայն երկիրն, և ժողովեալ զաւար և զգերութիւն բազում յոյժ, և եկեալ բանակեցան ի յեղր մայրոյն Խոսրովակերտի:

Եւ եղև յաւուրն Հինգերորդի դիմեցին ի վերայ քաղաքին. մատնեցաւ քաղաքն ի ձեռն նոցա... Եւ դիմեալ ի ներքս զաւրք թշնամեացն՝ սատակեցին սրով զբազմութիւն քաղաքին, և առեալ զաւար և զկապուտ քաղաքին՝ ելին և բանակեցան ի նմին բանակետեղն որ աւր ի էր տրէ ամսոյն, յաւուր ուրբաթի: Եւ զաղարեալ աւուրս ինչ՝ ելին և գնացին ընդ նոյն ճանապարհ, ընդ որ եկեալն էին: Եւ խաղացուցին զբազմութիւն գերւոյն ԼԵ Հազար ոգի:” and notes = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II, p. 246-247; for the commentary of Howard-Johnston and Thomson's calculation of the capture of Duin in 640, *ibid.*, I, p. 101, n. 626; cf. *ibid.*, lii, p. 174 = I, p. 150, etc. On the disagreement of the Armenian and Arab sources, EI, I, p. 636.

³⁹ LEWOND, iii, p. 9-10. See the preceding note for Howard-Johnston's critique of the chronology. No contemporary Arab accounts exist for the early Arab raids into Armenia. The main, even though considerably later, surviving Arab source is AL-BALADHURI's *Book of the Conquest of Nations* composed in the ninth century, since the slightly earlier work of al-Wāḳidī is lost. On the Arab historiography, see TER-GHEWONDYAN (1976), p. 4-6.

⁴⁰ See the commentary of Howard-Johnston, [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II, p. 255-259, his critique of the inadequacy of Syriac and Greek sources and of the adaptation of the Islamic ones, *ibid.*, p. 234-238. On the problem of the number of Arab invasions, see the analysis of Canard in EI, I, p. 636. Overlapping with Sebēos in his earlier sections, Lewond is the main, though by no means invariably trustworthy, Armenian narrative source for the Arab invasions and their extension of their domination over Armenia.

⁴¹ [PS]-SEB, xlviii, p. 164: “Եւ ի նմին ամի ապստամբեցին Հայք և ի բաց կացին ի Թաղաւորութենէն Յունաց և Հնազանդեցան ի ծառայութիւն արքային Իսմայելի, եղին ուխտ ընդ մաշու, և ընդ դժոխսոց դաշինս կոնցին Թէոդորոս Ռչտունեաց տէր ամենայն իշխանաւքն Հայոց, ի բաց ընկեցեալ զաստուածային դաշնաւորութիւնն:” = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II, p. 135-136. LEWOND, iv, p. 14, for once less emotional than Sebēos, merely says that the Armenian princes paid a yearly tax of 500 *dahekans* to Mu'āwiya and that as a result, “there was a profound peace during his reign, եւ եղև բազում խաղաղութիւն յաւուրս նորա իշխանութեանն:”

The Arab claim had been rejected by the emperor, who had successfully established himself in Duin.⁴² Before the end of the century, however, with the exception of the brief return of Byzantine authority from 689 to 693, following upon the campaign of Justinian II,⁴³ most of the Armenian plateau, with the exception of the territories lying south of Lake Van together with Iberia and Caucasian Albania, had been incorporated into the administrative system of the Umayyads as the new province of Armīniya directly governed in the name of the caliph by a governor or *ostikan* residing at Duin or Partaw.⁴⁴ Thereafter, except for the momentary brief mid-VIIIth century re-conquest of Constantine V, all disruptions of the Arab control over the Armenian plateau was internal, resulting primarily from the rebellions of the native princes and their repressions, except for the repeated destructive attacks from the north by Byzantium's Khazar allies raiding down through the main pass of the Caucasus.⁴⁵

Internal factors proved as damaging as the external ones we have observed hitherto. Officially, the government of the two portions of Armenia were entrusted to representatives of their respective overlords,

⁴² See above, p. 9-10, and n. 31.

⁴³ See above, p. 9-10, and n. 35.

⁴⁴ EI, I, p. 635-638, which gives the bibliography, but whose dates are not always in accord with more recent studies. As noted by MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 223-225: "La création d'une province arabe comprenant l'Arménie n'est pas une réforme précisément datable; aucune source ne la mentionne. Elle intervint après la tentative byzantine de 689-693 qui, ... inquiéta le pouvoir du califat et le détermina à modifier vers 699 le régime jusqu'alors accordé à l'Arménie, ... elle fut ... placée sous l'autorité d'un gouverneur arabe résidant à Dwin ou à Partaw, auquel les Arméniens donnèrent le nom d'*ostikan*". Canard, EI, I, p. 636-637, commenting on the accounts of al-Baladhūri and Ṭabarī, notes, however, that, "the Arab historians [who are not contemporaries of the events] ... describe Armenia as being under the administration of Muslim governors since the conquest of Ḥabīb ibn Maslama" in the forties of the VIIth century. Pseudo-Sebeos states that Armenia was under Arab control by the thirteenth year of Constans II, [PS]-SEB, lii, p. 173: "... ի նմին ամի զաւրն Խոմայելի որ ի Հայաստան աշխարհի՝ կալան ի ծագաց ի ծագս զերկիրն ամենայն:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 149 and n. 914.

⁴⁵ LEWOND, iv, p. 15-16: "Եւ ի չորրորդում ամին [of 'Abd-al-Malik] տիրեցին ի վերայ աշխարհիս Հայոց Հիւսիսային ազգն, որ ասին Խաղիրք, և սպանին ի պատերազմին զիշխանն Գրիգոր և զբազումս ի նախարարացն և զիշխանսն Վրաց և Աղուանից: Եւ ինքեանք ասպատակ սփռեալ ի վերայ աշխարհիս Հայոց՝ առին զբազում գաւառս և գաւառս. և առեալ զաւար և զգերութիւն՝ զնացին յաշխաՀն իւրեանց:" Cf. v, p. 17: "Իսկ Յուստինոս զնացեալ յաշխաՀն Խաղրաց՝ առնոյր իւր կնութեան զդուստրն Խաքանայ արքային Խաղրաց. և խնդրեալ ի նմանէ զօրս յօգնականութիւն: Եւ նա առաքէր զօր բազում..."; also xii, p. 41, xviii, p. 101-102, xxxi, p. 131-133.

but their jurisdiction was far from clear and the Armenian princes repeatedly shifted their allegiance between Byzantium and the Sasanians and even more the Arabs. In Persarmenia, a vice-roy or *marzpan* was appointed by the king of kings, perhaps even before the end of the Arsacid dynasty in the country, and apparently continued to be appointed until the end of the Sasanian dynasty.⁴⁶ A precise list of these governors - some of whom were native Armenian princes, such as Vahan Mamikonean, the nephew of the national hero Vardan the martyr and Varaz-Tiroc' Bagratuni, the son of Smbat, the favourite of Xusrō II - cannot be established, though several are named by Sebēos for the late Sasanian period.⁴⁷ Their tenure was by no means invariably peaceful as is evident from the flight of the *marzpan* Atrvšnasp Yozmandean driven out by the revolt of the Armenian princes under Vahan Mamikonean in 481; the murder of the Surēn in 571, which inaugurated the rebellion of Vardan II; or again the flight to the Byzantine side of the *marzpan* Varaz-Tiroc' slandered by Mžēž Gnuni.⁴⁸ On the Byzantine side, Heraclius ca. 628/9 appointed prince David Saharuni for the first time as "Prince of Armenia (*išḫan Hayoc'*)" with the title of *curopalates*, but he was expelled after three years.⁴⁹ A particularly vivid picture of the internal turmoil and interlocking dissensions in Armenia at this point is given by Pseudo-Sebēos:

Now the *aspet*⁵⁰ Varaztirots' ... brought complete prosperity to all the land of Armenia ... Then the Greek general Mzhēzh Gnuni began to slander concerning the *aspet* ... But because all of the Persian army loved the *aspet* one of the princes gave him a strong warning ... the *aspet* taking his wife and children fled by night and came to Taron. Arriving there, he gathered his troops and requested an oath from king Heraclius ... Then king Herac-

⁴⁶ GARSOĬAN (2009a), p. 105-111.

⁴⁷ [PS]-SEB, ix, xxx, p. 70-71, 105 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 10, 12, 56. GARSOĬAN (2009a), p. 106-109.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 2-3, and the next note.

⁴⁹ [PS]-SEB, xli, p. 133 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, p. 93-94; HAnjB, II, p. 27 §16.

⁵⁰ The title of *aspet* or commander of the cavalry was hereditary in the Bagratuni family. According to [PS]-SEB, xxviii, xl, p. 103, 128-129 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 53, 86-87, he had been appointed *marzpan* of Armenia by Kawat II during his brief reign in 628 and both his name, with its component *varaz* = "wild boar," the symbol of the Sasanian dynasty, and his honorific, *Yawitean Xosrov* = "Eternal Xosrov", [PS]-SEB, xli, p. 132 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 92, indicate his initial allegiance to the Persians, as had formerly been that of his father, who after his disgrace in Byzantium, became the favourite of Xusrō II. See II, n. 4, for his nomination as *marzpan* of Armenia by Kawat II, and n. 16, for his father Smbat Bagratuni, as well as the next two notes.

lius swore to him ... He honoured him more than all the *patriks* who were in his kingdom ... he gave him royal residences, cushions of silver, and very many treasures ... Varaztirots' was involved in that plot [of Heraclius' son Athalarikos] but he did not agree to the murder of the king [and consequently was merely exiled]...⁵¹

Subsequently, he fled to his ancestral land, Armenian Tayk', and Constans II then granted him the title of *curopalates*, but he died before his return and was buried in his ancestral domain.⁵² Imperial policy in Armenia was not clarified by his disappearance or by the imperial favour shown to his son Smbat. The precise positions and loyalties of both Dawit' Saharuni and T'ēodore Rštuni still require considerable clarification.

Also involved in that [earlier] plot was David Saharuni, whom Mzhēzh arrested and sent to the palace. But on the way he cut his bonds and killed the men who were escorting him. He returned and united under his command the Armenian army, attacking Mzhēzh Gnuni the Greek general he defeated and killed him. ... Then he took for himself the command of the army with the agreement of all the troops.

Then the king at the request of the princes, made him prince over all the territories (of Armenia), bestowed on him the title of *curopalates*, and confirmed him in his service. He held the office for three years with great magnificence, then, discredited by his soldiers, he was expelled. Since all the nobles were disunited, they ruined this land of Armenia. But only the pious and valiant prince of Rštunik', T'ēodoros, kept the troops of his region in continuous readiness, and ... he inflicted no few losses on his enemies.⁵³

⁵¹ [PS]-SEB, xli, p. 132-133: "Իսկ Վարազտիրոց ասպետ... Հինեաց բոլորովին զամենայն աշխարհն Հայոց: ... Ապա և զաւրաւարն Յունաց Մժէժ սկսաւ և նա առնել չարախաւսութիւն զասպետէ... Արդ՝ զի ամենայն զաւրն Պարսից սիրէին զասպետ՝ մի ոմն յիշխանաց անտի մեծ ազդ արար նմա... Իսկ ասպետ առեալ զկին իւր և զորդիս՝ փախեալ ի զիշերի, և ճանապարհ կալեալ գնաց ի Տարոն: Եւ անդ երթեալ ժողովեաց զզաւրս իւր. և խնդրեալ երդումն ի թագաւորէն Երակէ... Յայնժամ երդուաւ նմա թագաւորն Երակոս... Եւ մեծացոյց զնա քան զամենայն պատրիկսն որ էին ի թագաւորութեան նորա: Եւ գնացեալ ի պաղատն՝ ետ նմա ապարանս թագաւորականս և զաշոյս արծաթի և զանձս բազումս յոյժ: ...

Գտաւ ի խորհրդեանն յայնմիկ լեալ Վարազտիրոց, ... բայց չէր միաբանեալ սպանման թագաւորին և որդւոց նորա... : " = [PS]-SEB/T-H-J, I, p. 92-93. Cf. [PS]-SEB, xlii, p. 144 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 108-109.

⁵² According to LEWOND, vi, p. 19, Varaztiroc' was killed by the Byzantines. See, however, HANJB, V, p. 68 §1.

⁵³ [PS]-SEB, xli, p. 133-134: "Գտաւ լեալ ի խորհրդեանն յայնմիկ և Դաւիթ ՍաՀառունի, զոր կապեալ Մժէժայ առաքէ ի պաղատն: Եւ Հատեալ նմա զկապանս իւր ի ճանապարհին՝ սատակէ զարսն որք տանէին զնա: Եւ զարծեալ անդրէն միաբանէ ընդ ինքեան զզաւրս Հայոց, յարձակի ի վերայ Մժէժի Գնունույ զաւրաւարին Յունաց, Հարեալ սատակէ զնա" ... Եւ առ ինքն զաւրաւարութիւնն կամակցութեամբ և սիրով ամենայն զաւրացն:

The same vacillation is evident in the checkered career of David Saharuni's successor as Prince of Armenia, T'ëodoros Rštuni. Although Pseudo-Sebēos merely says that, "a command came from the emperor (bestowing) the command of the army on T'ëodoros lord of Rštunik", with the rank of *patrik*"⁵⁴ without explicitly stating that he had received the dignity of "Prince of Armenia". The historian then goes on to say,

... he [Constans II] dispatched T'ëodoros, lord of Rštunik, to Armenia with great honour, and bestowed on him the same authority of general, whether or not the princes of Armenia should so wish. He came and was reestablished in the same post.⁵⁵

Yet according to the same author, T'ëodoros participated with the Armenian princes in the pact with Mu'āwiya whereby they recognized the overlordship of the Arabs.⁵⁶ Moreover, "swollen... with tremendous anger," he joined forces with the Arabs from whom he successfully requested supporting troops. He then

went to Mu'āwiya the prince of Ismael in Damascus, and visited him with great presents. The prince of Ismael gave him robes of gold embroidered with gold and a banner of his own pattern. He gave him the rank of

Իսկ թագաւորն առնէ ըստ խնդրոյ իշխանացն զնա իշխան ի վերայ ամենայն աշխարհացն, և տայ նմա պատիւ կիրապաղատութեանն, և Հաստատէ զնա ի ծառայութիւն իւր, և կալեալ զիշխանութիւնն ամս Գ ամենայն ճոխութեամբ մեծապէս: Ապա անարգեալ ի զաւրացն՝ Հալաճեցաւ, և անմիաբան լեալ ամենայն ազատացն՝ կորուսին զերկիրս Հայոց: Բայց միայն աստուածասէր և քաջ իշխանն Ռշտունեաց գաւառին Թէոդորոս կազմէր զզաւրս իւրոյ կողմանն Հանապաղ... ոչ սակաւ աւճիրս գործէր ի թշնամեացն:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, p. 93-94.

⁵⁴ [PS]-SEB, xlii, p. 139: "ի կայսերէ Հրաման Հասեալ զաւրավարութեանն Թէոդորոսի Ռշտունեաց տեառն Հանդերձ պատրկութեան պատուով:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 101.

⁵⁵ Ibid., xliv, p. 145: "Եւ յետ այսորիկ արձակեաց զԹէոդորոս Ռշտունեաց տէրն ի Հայս մեծաւ պատուով, և ետ նմա զնոյն իշխանութիւն զաւրավարութեան, եթէ կամիցին իշխանքն Հայոց և եթէ ոչ կամիցին: Եւ եկն կարգեցաւ ի նոյն իշխանութեանն:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 109. However, Pseudo-Sebēos goes on to say that, on leaving Duin for Constantinople, Constans bestowed the dignity of Prince of Armenia on a certain Morianos, otherwise unknown. Ibid., xlix, p. 168: "Եւ սաստիկ ստիպով փութացուցանէին զարքայ ի Կոստանդնուպալին վաղ Հասանել անդր, և զնաց փութանակի: Եւ արար իշխանն Հայոց զՄորիանոս ոմն Հանդերձ Հայ զաւրուն՝ որ ի նոցուն կողմանէ:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 142. According to LEWOND, v, p. 12-13, T'ëodoros was recalled by Constans for deceiving the imperial commander Procopius and was replaced by Smbat Bagratuni the grandson of the earlier prince Varaztiroc, for whom see n. 51. YK, xix, p. 112 = YK-M, p. 104, however, gives a version closer to that of Pseudo-Sebēos and has T'ëodoros withdraw together with the Arabs to Damascus where he died.

⁵⁶ See above, n. 41.

prince of Armenia, Iberia, Aġuank', and Siwnik', as far as the Caucasus mountains and the Pass of Chor. Then he dismissed him with honour. He had made a pact with him to bring that land into submission.⁵⁷

These honours, however, do not seem to have had any great effect on T'ēodoros' fidelity, since Sebēos has him die in Asorestan (Syria) whither he had been taken by the Arabs after they had captured Karin/Theodosiopolis and ravaged "all the lands of Armenia, Aġuank' and Siwnik'."⁵⁸

His son-in-law, Hamazasp Mamikonean, who "held the position of prince of Armenia", but had a brother held as hostage by the Arabs, shifted his allegiance once again together with other Armenian princes. He "withdrew from submission to them [the Arabs], and through precipitate negotiations submitted to the king of the Greeks." As a result of this change,

King Constans made Hamazasp, lord of the Mamikoneank', *curopalates*, and gave him silver cushions [thrones] and rank of prince of Armenia. To the other princes [he gave] honours, and treasures to the soldiers.⁵⁹

His kinsman Muṣeġ Mamikonean, however, turned in the opposite direction.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ [PS]-SEB, xlix, p. 169: "Յետ այսորիկ զնաց Թէոդորոս Ռշտունեաց տէրն առ Մաւիաս իշխանն Իսմայելի ի Դամասկոս և ետես զնա մեծամեծ ընծայիւք: Եւ ետ նմա իշխանն Իսմայելի Հանդերձս ոսկեղէնս և ոսկեթելս, և վառ մի նորին աւրինակաւն: Եւ իշխանութիւն ետ նմա զՀայս և զՎիրս և զԱղուանս և զՍիսուանիս մինչև ց'Կապիոհ և ց'Պաշակն Ճորայ, և արձակեաց զնա պատուով: Եւ նորա պայման էր եղեալ նմա՝ ածել զերկիրն զայն ի ծառայութիւն." = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, p. 142-143.

⁵⁸ Ibid., xlii, p. 174 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 150.

⁵⁹ Ibid., lii, p. 175: "Ի նմին ամի ի բաց կացին Հայք ի ծառայութենէ Իսմայելացւոցն, և Հնազանդեցան անդրէն ի ծառայութիւն Թագաւորին Յունաց: Եւ արար արքայ Կոստանդին զՄամիկոնէից տէր զՀամազասպ՝ կիրաւադատ, և ետ նմա զաւոյս արծաթիս և զիշխանութիւնն աշխարհին Հայոց, և պատիւս այլոց իշխանացն, և գանձս զաւրացն:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 153. The naming of Hamazasp *curopalates* and *strategos* by the emperor resulted in the execution of the Armenian hostages by the Arabs according to the later *History* of Yovhannēs Kat'olikos, YK, xix-xx, p. 112-114 = YK-M, p. 104-105. LEWOND, iv, p. 14, does not mention Hamazasp but says that Mu'āwiya gave to Hamazasp's brother, Grigor Mamikonean, whom he was holding as a hostage, the rank of "Prince of Armenia" and sent him back to Armenia with great honour: "Իսկ յերկրորդում ամի իշխանութեանն Մուուիա կոչէ զԳրիգոր և զՍմբատ որ էին պատանդք ի դրանն արքունի. և տայր Գրիգորի զպատիւ իշխանութեանս Հայոց. և առաքէ զնոսա բազում մեծարանօք յաշխարհս Հայոց:" Thus, Grigor Mamikonean seems to have been the first "Prince of Armenia" designated by the Arabs, as is confirmed in the same passage of Yovhannēs Kat'olikos. ..

⁶⁰ Ibid., lii, p. 173, 175 = I, p. 148, 153.

Hence, it is evident that the complicated international situation was aggravated by internal feuds, which may well have been equally damaging to the conditions within Armenia.⁶¹ Although the title of "Prince of Armenia" was officially in the emperor's or the caliph's grant, power in Armenia often depended on the nobles who jockeyed among themselves for precedence. Thus, after the death of Heraclius, at the very moment of the first Arab raids into the Armenian highlands,

no one was chosen as general in the land of Armenia because the princes were disunited and separated from each other.⁶²

It is altogether possible that the first Prince of Armenia, David Sahaṭuni, a member of a relatively secondary house,⁶³ was selected by Heraclius as a compromise candidate in order to by-pass the steady rivalry of the far more powerful rival houses of the Mamikonean and Bagratuni.⁶⁴ The denunciation of the *aspet* Varaztiroc' Bagratuni by Mžēž Gnuni may likewise have been rooted in a feud between their two houses. It is worth observing here that the office of Prince of Armenia, with the one exception just noted of David Sahaṭuni, seems to have been reserved to the top stratum of the greatest families whose rank was already set and recorded in Arsacid times: the Mamikonean, the Bagratuni, the Kamsarakan, the Gnuni, and the Rštuni.⁶⁵ As early as the middle of the Vth century the

⁶¹ This double threat has also been noted by MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 220-222: "Le contexte extérieur n'était donc pas favorable à la stabilité. Les réalités intérieures ne l'étaient pas toutes non plus. En l'absence de rois les chefs des grandes familles, les *tanoutēr* allaient marquer de leur ambitions rivales la vie de l'Arménie."

⁶² [PS]-SEB, xlii, p. 138: "Եւ ոչ ոք ընտրեցաւ զաւրաւար յաշխարհին Հայոց. քանզի անմիաբան լեալ իշխանացն՝ մեկնեցան ի միմեանց." = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, p. 99. The later account of Yovhannēs Kat'olikos, probably based on Pseudo-Sebeōs, coincides almost verbatim, YK, xix, p. 105: "Եւ վասն զի նախարարք աշխարհիս մերոյ անմիաբանք լեալք, և ոչ ոք էր որ սմա զօրավարէր, յայնժամ ապականիչ զօրքն Հագարաց Համարձակութիւն առեալ յԱսորեստան կողմանէ՝ ասպատակ ի Հայս սփռէին." = YK-M, p. 101 §10, and p. 253 #10.

⁶³ The Sahaṭuni, although known from Arsacid times, did not have the same standing as the greatest noble houses of the period. They are ranked lower in the *Gahnamak/Throne List* and were expected to furnish only 300 retainers according to the *Military List/Zōrnamak*. See ADONTZ (1970a), p. 191-195, TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 224, 227-228, 240.

⁶⁴ The first attested case of this opposition occurs in the mid-Vth century, when Varaztiroc' Bagratuni sided with the pro-Persian party of the traitor and apostate Vasak Siuni against the hero Vardan Mamikonean during the great Armenian revolt of the mid-Vth century.

⁶⁵ The hereditary offices of the Mamikonean as *sparapets* or "commanders-in-chief", of the Bagratuni as *aspets* or "commanders of the cavalry", and of the Gnuni as *hazara-*

antagonism of the Mamikonean and the Bagratuni was already openly evidenced by the support given by prince Tiroc' Bagratuni to the pro-Persian party of the traitor and apostate Vasak Siwni against the national hero Vardan Mamikonean, during the great Armenian rebellion of 450-451, an opposition recorded by both the historians, Łazar P'arpec'i and Elišē.⁶⁶ The same antagonism may well be reflected in the opposite courses chosen by Varaztiroc' Bagratuni, normally siding with the Persians and Arabs, as had his father Smbat the favourite of Xusrō II, and by Hamazasp Mamikonean who turned to Byzantium, although he had been named Prince of Armenia by the Caliphate.⁶⁷ This exacerbating rivalry for the preponderant place exploded openly in the first half of the VIIIth century as it narrowed to the two greatest houses of early mediæval Armenia. Except for the momentary intrusion of Nersēs Kamsarakan

pets or supervisors over the peasants and agriculture, are recorded as early as the IVth century in the *Epic Histories*, BP, III.xi, p. 38-39, IV.ii, p. 76-77; V.xlix, p. 258; IV.ii, p. 77 = BP-G, p. 81, 108, 258, cf. p. 362-363, s.n. Bagratuni, p. 374-375, s.n. Gnuni, p. 382, s.n. Kamsarakan, p. 385-386, s.n. Mamikonean, also p. 509, *aspet*, p. 531, *hazara-pet*, p. 560-561, *sparapet*.

Although the hereditary offices of the Kamsarakans and Řštuni are not recorded in the sources, they were unquestionably among the leading princes of Armenia from an early period, although both were temporarily decimated at the end of the reign of king Tiran, and in that of Aršak II, *ibid.*, p. 382, 402. The Kamsarakans claimed to be descendants of the great Iranian clan of the Karēn and were related to the royal Aršakuni house. The late and questionably accurate *Throne List/Gahnamak*, (though its accuracy for the VIIIth century may be greater if it is indeed the work of Łewond *vartabed*, as suggested by Adontz) places all five within the 20 top ranking nobles in Arsacid Armenia. The *Military List/Zōrnamak*, presumably for the same period, records the Mamikonean, the Bagratuni and the Řštuni among the princes required to furnish the maximum number of 1000 retainers to the Armenian army, as against 600 for the Kamsarakans and 500 for the Gnuni, ADONTZ (1970a), p. 183-234, especially, p. 191-195. Cf. TOUMANOFF (1963) §9, p. 201-203, §14, p. 205, §16, p. 206-207, §18, p. 209-210, 213, 222-252. It is interesting to note whereas the lord of the Řštuni is listed among the supporters of the Persian party by Łazar P'arpec'i, his name is not included in the list of the apostates given by Elišē.

Though Mžēž Gnuni, does not seem to have been appointed Prince of Armenia and is referred to as "the general of the Greeks", he may in fact have been the *magister utriusque militiae per Armeniam* (628-635/7) under Heraclius (PLRE, IIIB, p. 887-888, s.n. Mezezius (HAnjB, III, p. 329 §2) and his ancestors had supported Vardan Mamikonean in his revolt against the Persians. See MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 220-222, and the next note.

⁶⁶ ŁP', I.xxxvi, xxxix, p. 67, 72 = ŁP'-T, p. 109, 116; E, iv, v, p. 92, 120 = E-T, p. 141, 171-172.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 3, 15-18.

(689-690/1) during the brief reconquest of Justinian II,⁶⁸ the office of Prince of Armenia, whether he was named by Byzantium or the Umayyads, was disputed between the Mamikonean and the Bagratuni from the middle of the VIIth century:⁶⁹ thus Hamazasp Mamikonean, Smbat VI (693-703, 709-726) and Ašot III “the Blind” (732-748/50) Bagratuni.⁷⁰ The opposition to Ašot’s appointment by the brothers Dawit’ and Grigor Mamikonean resulted in their exile to Yemen, whence they returned in 743, once again to oppose Ašot who fled for help to Damascus while Grigor assumed the office of Prince of Armenia in his stead.⁷¹ Supported by the last Umayyad caliph, however, Ašot promptly returned and Dawit’ Mamikonean was executed. The brief subsequent reconciliation between the rivals, when the fall of the Umayyad dynasty deprived Ašot of their support, was not destined to last, as Grigor Mamikonean had Ašot blinded in revenge for the execution of his brother.⁷² However, another Bagratuni, Sahak (Isaak I/III) was to replace him (ca. 755-761).⁷³ Only the crushing of the Armenian rebellion at the battle of Bagrewand in 775, leaving both the head of the Mamikonean house, Mušeł, and the *sparapet*/commander-in chief of Armenia, Smbat Bagratuni,⁷⁴ dead in the field,

⁶⁸ TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 204; 404; ID. (1990), p. 273 §15, s.n. Narsès II.

⁶⁹ The importance of interior developments as factors of disruption have also been observed by MARTIN-HISARD (2007), p. 225: “Il y eut donc révolte contre les Arabes, mais elle était née dans un conflit entre deux familles inégalement favorisées dans une lutte pour le pouvoir. Même lorsque apparut en second lieu une dimension antiarabe, la vengeance privée ne perdit pas ses droits et l’union établie entre des familles poursuivant avant tout un intérêt personnel resta fragile.”

⁷⁰ GARSOÏAN (1997), p. 122-132. For Hamazasp and Grigor Mamikonean, see HAnjB, III, p. 17 §17, and i, p. 531 §39; for Ašot II and III “the Blind”, *ibid.*, p. 181 §10, and p. 181-182 §14. For Smbat VI, *ibid.*, iv, p. 541 §21, and TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 341 §xiv, where he sets out the successive shifts of Smbat’s career between the Empire and the Caliphate.

⁷¹ HAnjB, I, p. 533 §53. Cf. ii, p. 29 §30.

⁷² LEWOND, xxv-xxvi, p. 120-124, where the author makes it amply clear that the alliance of Grigor Mamikonean and Ašot Bagratuni was deceitful and their actions were primarily motivated by revenge (p. 121): “դարձեալ Հաստատէ զիշխանութիւնն Աշոտոյ Մրուան, և առաքէ զնա մեծամեծ պատուօք յերկիրս Հայոց: Եւ յայնմՀետէ ոչ զազարէր Գրիգոր յերկնելոյ զՀակառակութիւն վասն քինախնդիր լինելոյ կորստեան եղբօրն, թէպէտև վասն երկիրոյի բռնաւորացն առնէր խաղաղութիւն ընդ Աշոտոյ բանիւք միայն, այլ սրտիւ ոչ միտեցաւ զՀետ իշխանութեան նորա. քանզի սպասէր Հասանել Ժամու, յորում Հասանէր կամացն խորհրդի:”

⁷³ HAnjB, IV, p. 358 §49. See TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 340-341, and ID. (1990), p. 111-112, for the Bagratuni stemma.

⁷⁴ HAnjB, III, p. 460 §20, and iv, p. 542-543 §28.

brought the contest to an end. The Mamikonean house would never recover from the disaster of Bagrewand, and the accession to power of the Abbasid dynasty in 750 opened a new chapter in the history of Armenia, which although its chronology belongs strictly speaking to the Interregnum, should be considered separately both in terms of Arab-Armenian relations, the changing demography of the plateau, and the eventual accession to the kingship of the Bagratuni.

Without enlarging any further into the particularly complicated and often problematic period from the end of the VIth to the mid-VIIIth centuries, it must be said that the explicit testimony of the native sources undeniably lends considerable support to the traditional interpretation of the Interregnum as a "time of trouble". There can be no question that in no portion of this period could Armenia be considered to have been in any sense a centralized state. Yet, it must also be remembered that in the checkered history of the Armenian people, the periods when such a state existed have been a distinct minority. More than four and a half centuries separated the disappearance of the Armenian Arsacid dynasty in 428 from the coronation of King Ašot I Bagratuni in 884. In the north, the Bagratid kingdom fragmented almost at once into the several secondary kingdoms of Kars and Lori, in addition to the principality of Siwnik', itself soon to be split in two, and it was rivaled by the southern Arcruni kingdom of Vaspurakan. Within two centuries the kingdoms of the homeland would vanish in their turn to be replaced after a hiatus by the Cilician kingdom outside the plateau. After its overthrow by the Mamluks toward the end of the XIVth century, no semblance of an Armenian state would reappear until the XXth century. Even during the royal period, which preceded the Interregnum, the argument for centralization cannot really be made. The Arsacid king, direct lord of no more than the central district of Ayrarat, was but the first among his equals whose hereditary prerogatives he could not abrogate.⁷⁵ The only means available to the ruler in his attempt to counter the centrifugal tendencies of the great nobles, conditioned to a considerable degree by the fragmented geography of their homeland, was to keep them directly under his eye.⁷⁶ Moreover, Cyril Toumanoff called our attention almost half a century ago to

⁷⁵ GARSOĬAN (1967), p. 24-25.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 43-44; BP III.viii, p. 31: "[արքայն խոսրով]... զնէր օրէնս՝ զի մեծամեծ աւագանին. Նախարարքն աշխարհակալքն աշխարհատեարքն՝ որ էին բիւրավորքն և Հազարաւորքն, կայցեն առ արքային, և ընդ նմա շրջեսցին, և մի՛ ոք երթիցէ ի նոցանէ ընդ զօրս արքունի:" IV.iii, p. 77 = BP-G, p. 76, 107.

the fact that albeit the Arsacid dynasty in Armenia was brought to an end by the Sasanian king of kings, he did this at the explicit request of the Armenian nobles,⁷⁷ who preferred a distant authority, less apt to interfere with their prerogatives, to the more immediate power of a local ruler, as is unmistakably spelled out in the request which Łazar P'arpec'i put into their mouths:

"What further use is there of a king? Let a Persian prince come for a while to be our governor."⁷⁸

Under the circumstances the question of criteria may well be raised, more specifically, whether political continuity and a centralized state are the ultimate criteria and valid guidelines for a study of Armenia's checkered history. Indeed, the presence or absence of a centralized state does not seem to have been a given or an inflexible constant on which to base conclusions as to the welfare of Armenia in any given period. Consequently, other evidence must also be taken into consideration before any valid evaluation of the Interregnum may be attempted.

⁷⁷ TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 153-154.

⁷⁸ ŁP' I.xiv, p. 24: "զի իսկ եւ պիտոյ է թագաւոր, այլ իշխան պարսիկ ըստ ժամանակի եկեալ վերակացու լիցի մեզ." = ŁP'-T, p. 58.

CHAPTER II

A "DARK AGE"?

Even before seeking to set up new criteria according to which Armenian history might be viewed more accurately than heretofore, a closer examination of the narrative historical sources just cited which, as we shall see, often contradict themselves, already suggests that the situation of Armenia during the Interregnum may not have been as uniformly dismal as would seem at first reading. During both the Sasanian and the subsequent Umayyad periods even hostile Armenian sources preserved memories of intervals not merely less bleak but indeed peaceful and even prosperous for their country.¹ To be sure, Pseudo-Sebēos is probably exaggerating in his enumeration of the honours showered by the Persian ruler Xusrō II on prince Smbat Bagratuni:

It happened at that time that Smbat Bagratuni became pleasing in the eyes of king Khosrov. He gave him the *marzpanate* of the land of Vrkan, made him prince over all that region, and favoured him even more with honours and authority. He heaped gold and silver on him and robed him in splendid and expensive garments. He gave him the belt and sword that had belonged to his own father Ormizd. He put under his control Persian and Armenian troops ...

Then the king sent him a letter with much thanks, greatly honoured him and promoted him above all the *marzpans* of his kingdom.

Smbat held the *marzpanate* of that country for eight years. After that an order came summoning him with much honour to the royal court. The king bade him visit his own country in the 18th year of his reign. ...

Then the king bestowed upon him the office of *tanutēr*, called him Khosrov Shum [Joy of Khosrov], robed him splendidly, ... bestowed upon him the Lesser Ministry of Finance, the administration of the country ... and he bade him make *marzpan* whomever he might wish.²

¹ A number of scholars have noted that the Interregnum was not in fact an entirely negative period in Armenian history, e.g., TER LEWONDYAN (1984), p. 198-199: "les recherches les plus récentes soulignent aussi l'indépendance politique arménienne au VII^e siècle.... En Arménie le VII^e siècle n'est pas une période de domination étrangère," MAHÉ (1987), and particularly MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007); the as yet unpublished doctoral thesis of GREENWOOD (2000) focuses on this period and its native historiography, but in the face of the standard, generally negative, traditional interpretation, one more examination of the evidence seems warranted.

² [PS]-SEB, xxiv, xxvii-xxviii, p. 96, 99-101: "Եւ եղև ի ժամանակին յայնձիկ

Nevertheless, these passages cannot be read merely as an overenthusiastic description of the king of kings' particular benevolence toward a special favourite. The offices bestowed upon Smbat the *marzpanate* of Vrkan and especially the unparalleled office of "Commander of the Lords of Houses", which gave him authority in the Armenian administrative capital of Duin, far beyond his jurisdiction of Vrkan, have now been confirmed by the Persian seal recently published by Rika Gyselen.³ The favour of the Persian court was not centered on Smbat alone but extended beyond the reign of Xusrō II, since Smbat's son was appointed *marzpan* of Armenia by Kawad II and Pseudo-Sebēos specifies that he was "sent to Armenia with [authority over] his ancestral possessions in order to keep the country in prosperity". He stresses further, that "When he came to Armenia, all the land of the Armenians joyfully received him," and that he "brought complete prosperity to all the land of Armenia."⁴ Not only did Xusrō II allow Smbat to rebuild the church of Saint Gregory at Duin despite the objections of the local Persian authorities but Smbat, presumably with the king's permission, ended the hiatus in the Armenian

Հանդիմանալ Սմբատայ Բագրատունւոյ յաչա իոսորովու արքային. տայ ի նա զմարզպանութիւն երկրին Վրկանայ, առնէ զնա իշխան ի վերայ ամենայն կողմանն այնորիկ, առաւել մեծացուցանէ պատուովք և իշխանութեամբ. ընու զնա ոսկւով և արծաթով, զարդարէ ի Հանդերձս պատուականս և յերևելիս: Տայ նմա զկամարն և զսուսերն լեւալ Հար իւրոյ Որմզդի. զունարէ ի ձեռս նորա զարս պարսիկս և զՀայաստանեայս և Հրամայէ զնալ յերկիր իշխանութեանն իւրոյ: ...

Յայնժամ առաքէ առ նա թագաւորն Հրովարտակ մեծապէս զոհութեամբ, պատուով մեծացուցանէ ի վեր քան զամենայն մարզպանս իւրոյ տէրութեան առնելով, ...

Եւ կայաւ Սմբատ զմարզպանութիւն աշխարհին այնորիկ ամս Ը: Յետ այսորիկ Հրաման Հասանէ կոչել զնա բազում մեծարանաւք ի դուռն արքունի, և Հրամայէ երթալ տեսանել զերկիր իւր՝ յամի ութ և տասներորդի իւրոյ թագաւորութեանն: ...

Յայնժամ տայ նմա արքայ զտանուտէրութիւն՝ որ անուանեալ կոչէր իոսորով Շոււմ, զարդարէ ի շքնադս, ... արձակու ի նա զվաճառն փոքր, զգիւան աշխարհին: ... և Հրամայէ նմա առնել մարզպան՝ զոր ինքն կամեսցի: " = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 43-44, 47-48, 49-50. Many of Smbat's honours were bestowed on his son Varaztiroc'; *ibid.*, xl, p. 128-129 = I, p. 86-87. See below, n. 4.

³ GYSELEN (2002b), GARSOÏAN (2004).

⁴ [PS]-SEB, xl, p. 128-129, 132: "Յայնժամ կոչէ արքայ Կաւատ զՎարազտիրոց զորդի Սմբատայ Բագրատունւոյ իոսորով Շոււմ կոչեցելոյ, և տայ նմա զիշխանութիւն տանուտէրութեանն. առնէ զնա մարզպան և առձակէ ի Հայս Հանդերձ ամենայն ընչիւք Հայրենի, զի զաշխարհն ի շինութեան պահեսցէ: Եւ իբրեւ եկն նա ի Հայս՝ խնդութեամբ ընկալան զնա ամենայն աշխարհն Հայաստանեայց... Իսկ Վարազտիրոց ասպետ, անուանեալ ի թագաւորաց Ջաւիտեան իոսորովու, ... շինեաց բոլորովին զամենայն աշխարհն Հայոց: " = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 86-87, 92. See also above, p. 15 and I, n. 50.

kat'olikate by his supervision of the election of the new incumbent, Abraham I in 607.⁵

The good will of the late Sasanian court seems to have extended to its Christian⁶ and specifically to its Armenian subjects at this time. Although Pseudo-Sebēos is once more patently exaggerating when he asserts that, "King Khosrov ordered: 'All Christians who are under my authority should hold the faith of Armenia',"⁶ a council was called by the king and presided over by the royal physician, the Monophysite Gabriel, and Smbat Bagratuni. On this occasion two Armenian bishops, one of them the future kat'olikos Komitas, were present to report on the religious situation in their country.⁷ The church at Duin was not the only one rebuilt. During their tenure, the kat'olikoi Komitas (611/5-628) and Ezr (630-641) seem to have encountered no difficulties from the secular authorities in their reconstruction and notable enlargement of the earlier martyria of the virgin saints Hrip'simē and Gayanē at Vałaršapat.

And in the 28th year of the reign of Apruēz Khosrov the Catholicos Komitas demolished the chapel of St. Hrip'simē in the city of Vałaršapat, because the building was too low and dark ...

He built the church ... He also raised the roof of the holy cathedral, and renewed the unstable wall. He built the stone roof ...⁸

⁵ For the reconstruction of the church at Duin despite the protestations of the local *marzpan* and the Persian commander of the fortress, as well as for the election of Abraham I after a hiatus of three years, see GARSOĪAN (1999a), p. 357-362, 382-383.

⁶ [PS]-SEB, xlvi, p. 151: "Յորոյ վերայ Հրաման ետ արքայ Խոսրով, եթէ ամենայն քրիստոնեայք, որ ընդ իմով իշխանութեամբս են՝ Հաւատ զՀայոցն կալցին:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 118.

⁷ Ibid., p. 149-150: "[Խոսրով] կացոյց ի վերայ նոցա ոստիկանս զՍմբատ Բագրատունի, զանուանեալն Խոսրովայ Շընումն, և զբժշկապետն արքունի: ... Դիպեցան անդ արք երկու եպիսկոպոսք յաշխարհէն Հայոց, արք Հաւատարիմք, զորս վասն բռնութեան աշխարհին էին արձակեալ, զի ծանուցեն թագաւորին..." = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 115-116. The ANON. GUIDI, p. 20, also notes regretfully the shift in the favour of the Sasanian court from the Nestorians to the Monophysites during the reign of Xusrō II. See below, n. 11.

⁸ Ibid., xxxvii, p. 121: "Եւ եղև յամի ԻԸ-երորդի թագաւորութեանն Ապրուէզ Խոսրովու քակեաց կաթողիկոսն Կումիտաս զմատուռ սրբոյն Հոփսիմեայ ի Վաղարշապատ քաղաքի, զի կարի ցած և մթին էր շինուածն, ... Շինեաց զեկեղեցին, ... Վերացոյց և զփայտայարկս սրբոյ կաթողիկէին. նորոգեաց և զխախուռ որմոյն. շինեաց զքարայարկսն..." = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 76-77. This description is confirmed and expanded in the *History* of Yovhannēs Kat'olikos, who also records the rebuilding of the martyrion of Saint Gayanē; YK, xvii, xviii, p. 96, 102-103 = YK-M, p. 97, 100 and 252 #31.

The *Letter* of the Patriarch Modestos of Jerusalem to Komitas cited by the Pseudo-Sebēos suggests that the protection of Xusrō II had extended to the local Armenian community at the time of the Persian sack of Jerusalem in 614: "he [God] made our opponents friendly and bestowed on us pity and mercy in front of all our captors" and he goes on to inform the Armenian kat'olikos that "all the churches of Jerusalem were reestablished and are in use."⁹ Indeed, though he recounts the horror of the sack of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614 and their capture of the relic of the True Cross, Pseudo-Sebēos nonetheless also states that "all the land of Palestine willingly submitted to the subjection to the Persian king."¹⁰ He admits that the willingness of this surrender was largely to be attributed to the rebellious attitude of the Jews but, nevertheless, he goes on to stress the benevolence of the king of kings toward the Christians:

Then a command arrived from the King of kings to have mercy on those who had fallen prisoner, to rebuild the city, and to re-establish [its inhabitants] there in each one's rank. He ordered the Jews to be expelled from the city. And they promptly carried out the king's command with great alacrity.¹¹

While, then, the good will of the last Sasanians toward the Armenians may be explained not only in terms of personal predilection, but as the result of a policy favouring a disputed border region now alienated from

⁹ [PS]-SEB, xxxv, p. 117: "Արդ՝ զի զՀակոռակորդսն ձեր սիրելի արար, և ետ զմեզ ի գթութիւն և յողորմութիւն առաջի ամենայն գերշաց մերոց.... ամենայն եկեղեցիքս երուսաղէմի կարգաւորեցան և պաշտին:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 71-72. Cf. FLUSIN (1992), II, p. 175-179, and concerning the Armenian monasteries in Jerusalem, SANJIAN (1969) and GARSOÏAN (2002). Also the commentary of Howard-Johnston on the correspondence, [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II, p. 208-210 §35-36: "the letter [of Modestos to Komitas] looks like an authentic document, translated into Armenian from a Greek original," and "There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this letter".

¹⁰ [PS]-SEB, xxxiv, p. 115: "Յայնժամ ապա ամենայն երկիրն Պաղեստինացոց կամաւք Հնազանդեցան ի ծառայութիւն արքային Պարսից." = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 68.

¹¹ Ibid., xxxiv, p. 116: "Ապա վասն անկելոց ձերբակալացն Հրաման Հասեալ ի Թագաւորէն՝ առնել ի վերայ նոցա ողորմութիւն, չինել զքաղաքն, և զնոսա անդրէն Հաստատել յիւրաքանչիւր կարգ: Եւ զՀրեայսն Հրամայէ Հալածական առնել ի քաղաքէն. և անդէն վաղվաղակի մեծաւ ստիպով կատարեն զՀրամանն արքունի:" The "generally dispassionate" tone of Pseudo-Sebēos' account is also noted by Howard-Johnston, [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II, p. 208-210, as against the more passionate account of Strategos of Saint Sabas. The shift to a pro-Christian policy by Xusrō II after the capture of Jerusalem is also noted by МАНЁ (1983), p. 223, who likewise ascribes this to the fact that "Xosrov soon found it much more advantageous to flatter the Christian population, who were for the major part Monophysites and for that reason rather hostile to Byzantium". Cf. STONE (1982), p. 34.

Constantinople because of the formal condemnation of the council of Chalcedon by the Armenian Church at the beginning of the VIIth century; it should likewise be noted that the conciliatory tone of the native historians is not reserved exclusively for the Persians. Occasional references to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius as "blessed (*eraneli*)" and "pious and God-crowned (*astuacapsakeal ew barepašt*)" occur in Pseudo-Sebēos and the emperor is said to have urged his son Constantine to show mercy to all transgressors.¹² Given the political and religious problems attendant upon his reign, this unexpected characterization of Heraclius is most likely due to his recovery of the True Cross carried away by the Persians at the time of their sack of Jerusalem in 614. As a consequence, he was generally praised in the Armenian tradition, both in monumental representations, such as the sculptural relief above the north portal of the church at Mren, where the inscription on the west façade speaks of the "happily victorious (*bareyałt'ot*) Heraclius",¹³ and in legendary tales, such as the one relating the emperor's gift of a fragment of the cross to a mythical "princess of Siunik."¹⁴ In spite of the growing religious antagonism between Armenia and Byzantium, popular memory evidently also preserved the memory of earlier auspicious rather than troubled times since the proverb, cited in the anonymous IXth century miscellany known as the *History of the Pseudo-Šapuh Bagratuni* and still preserved in a far later source, characterizes a peaceful period as being "as in the time of Maurice, when one lived untroubled."¹⁵

Despite all their lamentations on the devastation of Armenia, the contemporary historians record the conditions of the country during the early Arab domination as by no means unbearable. Contradicting himself, Lewond, who characterized the period of Arab conquest as one in which only the dead were to be envied, simultaneously admits that, "there was

¹² [PS]-SEB, xli, xliii, p. 131, 137: "կատարեալ երանելոյն Երակլի զկեանս իւր... Երդմնեցուցանէ զորդի իւր զԿոստանդին՝ առնել ողորմութիւն ի վերայ ամենայն յանցաւորացն ...", [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 90; cf. *ibid.*, xliv, p. 142 = I, p. 106; LEWOND, i, p. 3: "ի մետասաներորդ ամի Հերակղի աստուածապսակեալ և բարեպաշտ թագաւորին Հոռոմոց." Cf. also GREENWOOD (2004), p. 44-47.

¹³ THIERRY, M.-N. (1971), p. 69-74; EAD. (1997), p. 165 and n. 2; cf. figs; and MARANCI (2008-2009), p. 167-180, with the relevant bibliography.

¹⁴ [PS]-ŠAP, p. 53-67 = [PS]-ŠAP-T, p. 186-190.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51: "Եւ առ Հասարակ խաղաղացոյց զերկիրն ամենայն, զոր ոմանք յառակս արկեալ ասեն, թէ «զինչ ի Ժամանակին Մուրկեա որ նստել է անՀոգս»." = PS-ŠAP-T, p. 185 and n. 23.

a profound peace in his [Mu'āwiya's] reign."¹⁶ The same historian notes repeatedly the honours granted by the Caliphate to the Armenian princes whom they appointed, such as Grigor Mamikonean or Ašot Bagratuni.¹⁷ These honours were likewise extended to the religious dignitaries, whether according to the probably apocryphal tale of his successful posthumous embassy, to the kat'olikos Sahak III,¹⁸ or, in the account given in the *History* of the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i and preserved as late as the XIIIth century in the *History* of Kirakos Ganjakec'i, of the respect shown to the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i by the caliph.¹⁹ No suggestion has come down to us that any objection from either the caliph or his Armenian governors impeded the holding of either of Ōjnec'i's great councils at Duin in 719 or Manazkert in 725/6.²⁰ Nor do we find evidence of authentic religious persecution under the Umayyads. The martyrs recorded for this period, such as Vahan of Gołn or Dawit of Duin, were originally brought up as Muslims and subsequently returned to the Christian faith, so that from the Muslim point of view they were apostates and punishable as such.²¹

Like the political calamities, the economic downturn which both the contemporaries and modern scholars deplore, does not seem to have been

¹⁶ LEWOND, iv, p. 14: "Եւ եղև բազում խաղաղութիւն յաւուրս նորա իշխանութեանն." The author also states that Mu'āwiya had assured the Armenians that they would live "without fear in their homes [աներկիւղ մնալ ի բնակութիւնս իւրեանց]" as long as the annual tribute of 500 *dahekans* was paid. See above, p. 000. Similarly, *ibid.*, x, p. 36-37, Lewond admits that the caliph al-Walid recalled the oppressive Arab governor of Armenia, and that his successor, Abd ul-Aziz ruled justly and peacefully: "Իսկ Աբդուլ-Ազիզն տիրեալ աշխարհս Հայոց՝ խաղաղացոյց զամենայն յարձակմունս անիրաւութեան յաշխարհէս. և զխրոխտացեալ անզգամութիւն որդւոցն Իսմայելի սաստիկ կշտամբութեամբ ցածուցանէր: ". Finally, he concedes that when the caliph Merwan "ruled over the country of Armenia, he made it peaceful protecting it from all violence [Եւ ինքն տիրեալ ի վերայ աշխարհիս՝ խաղաղացոյց զամենայն յարձակմունս բռնութեան.]", *ibid.*, xxii, p. 114. On his arrival at Duin, he greeted the Armenian nobles who came to meet him, peacefully." See also above, I, n. 51, for a similar evaluation of the situation in Armenia in the late Sasanian period.

¹⁷ LEWOND: Grigor Mamikonean, iv, p. 14; Ašot Bagratuni, xxv, p. 121, etc.

¹⁸ LEWOND, ix, p. 28-31.

¹⁹ YK, xxii, p. 128-133 = YK-M, p. 110-111; KG, i, p. 67-68. Also ASOLIK, II.ii, p. 104: "Ընդ որ զարմացեալ ամիրապետին՝ եօթնպատիկ պճնազարդէ զնա [Օձնեցի] և մեծապատիւ զանձու առաքէ ի Հայս". See below, n. 34, for the text of YK.

²⁰ The council was held in the city of Manazkert north of Lake Van, because the Arabs objected to the Armenians' journey to Syria proper, but there is no mention of an objection to their holding a joint council with the West-Syrians, a council which in fact took place.

²¹ See MAHÉ (1993), p. 487 and n. 266.

as severe or ubiquitous as we have been led to believe. The favourable conditions prevailing in Armenia during the mid-VIth century is supported by Procopius' praise of the prosperity of Duin and its region at the time:

Now Doubios is a land excellent in every respect and especially blessed with a healthy climate and abundance of good water; and from Theodosiopolis it is removed a journey of eight days. In that region there are plains suitable for riding and many very populous villages are situated in very close proximity to one another, and numerous merchants conduct their business in them. For from India and the neighbouring regions of Iberia and from practically all the nations of Persia and some of those under Roman sway they bring merchandise and carry on their dealings with each other there.²²

The Justinianic Code confirms this account by bearing official witness to the continuation of international commerce over the Armenian plateau through its reiteration of the earlier legislation mandating that the Armenian city of Artaxata/Artašat together with Nisibis and Callinicum be designated as one of the three transit points for this trade.²³ Ter Lewondyan has argued that the northerly route through the valley of the Araxes had in fact gained importance in the second half of the VIIth century because the usual route through Mesopotamia had become less attractive as a result of the endemic state of war in the south, and has noted the economic activity of the country.²⁴ Indeed, the existence of the treatises on weights and measures attributed to the famous contemporary savant Anania Širakac'i would remain altogether incomprehensible in a period devoid of manufacturing or commercial activity.²⁵

²² PROC., *Bell. Pers.*, II.xxv.1-3. "Ἔστι δὲ τὸ Δούβιος χώρα τις τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀέρων τε καὶ ὕδατων ἐνεξίαν τινὰ διαρκῶς ἔχουσα, Θεοδοσιουπόλεως δὲ ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν ὀκτὼ διέχει. καὶ πεδία μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἱππήλατα ἐστὶ, κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ πολυανθρωπότατοι ὄκηνται ἀγχοτάτω ἀλλήλαις καὶ πολλοὶ ἔμποροι κατ' ἐργασίαν ἐν ταύταις οἰκοῦσιν. ἔκ τε γὰρ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Ἰβήρων πάντων τε ὥς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἐν Πέρσῃς ἐθνῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τινῶν τὰ φορτία ἐσκομιζόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἀλλήλοις ξυμβάλλουσι." = Loeb I, p. 478/9-480/1.

²³ CJ, IV.lxiii.4. = AD 408 or 409: "Mercatores tam imperio nostro quam Persarum regi subiectos, ultra ea loca in quibus foederis tempore cum memorata natione nobis convenit, nundinas exercere minime oportet, ne alieni regni, quod non convenit, scrutentur arcana. Nullus igitur posthac imperio nostro subiectus ultra Nisibin Callinicum et Artaxata emendi sive vendendi species causa profisci audeat..." Cf. MANANDIAN (1965), p. 78-82, and 90-116, for his reconstitution of the main routes indicated in the earlier *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

²⁴ TER LEWONDYAN (1984), p. 201; ID. (1986), p. 777-778: "Le développement économique de l'Arménie fut intense au VII^e siècle."

²⁵ AN. ŠIR; ANASYAN (1959), vol. I, col. 734-759; MANANDIAN (1965), p. 116-127.

According to Lewond:

When Abd al-Aziz became the governor of our land of Armenia, he pacified [it] altogether by protecting it from all unjust attacks, and by stern reproofs he subdued the haughty arrogance of the sons of Ismael. He rebuilt the city of Duin mightier and more extensive in size than before, he fortified it with gates and bolts. He surrounded it with a wall (and) a moat filled with water for the protection of the fortifications.²⁶

The importance and prosperity of the administrative capital of Duin is likewise attested by later Arab sources although it apparently declined in the course of the Abbasid period:

Dabil is greater than Ardabil. The city serves as the capital of Armenia and in it is the palace of the governor. ... There is a wall around Dabil. Here there are many Christians and the main mosque is next to the church. In this town are made woollen garments and rugs, cushions, seats, laces and other items of Armenian manufacture. From them is also obtained the dye named "kirmiz" and cloth is dyed with it. ... In addition to this I learned that many silken cloths are manufactured there. Dabil is the capital of Armenia ... The city is always in the hands of the Christian nobility, and the Christians form the greater part of the population of Armenia.²⁷

In Dabil are made many silken garments. As for these last, there are many like them in the land of Rum, although these are more valuable. And as for

²⁶ LEWOND, x, p. 36: "Իսկ Աբդլ-Ազիզն տիրեալ աշխարհիս Հայոց՝ խաղաղացոյց զամենայն յարձակմունս անիրաւութեան յաշխարհէս... Շինէր վերստին զքաղաքն Դուին Հզօրագոյն և ընդարձականիստ մեծութեամբ քան զառաջինն, և ամրացուցանէր զրամբք և զընափակօք, անցուցանէր շուրջ զպարսպովն պարկէնս փոսից լցեալ ջուր յապաստան ամրոցին." The rebuilding and fortification of Duin by its governor Abd al-Aziz is confirmed by al-Baladhuri, Hitti (1916/1968), I, p. 321.

²⁷ AL-ISTAKRI, *The Book of Roads and Realm*, in MANANDIAN (1965), p. 143-144. While these Arab descriptions are undoubtedly later than the Interregnum, they do not differ greatly, except for the Muslim additions, from the VIth century description of the city given by PROC., *Bell. Pers.*, II, xxv.1-3. See above p. 31, and n. 22. So that it seems likely that the administrative center of Armenia continued to flourish despite its captures and rebuildings during the vicissitudes of war, nor should the economic situations of the VIIth and early VIIIth centuries be confused with that of the Abbasid period. Although still incomplete, the continuing archaeological excavations of the site of Duin already attest to its importance, TER LEWONDYAN (1984), p. 201, as does the numismatic evidence, cf. GARSOĬAN (1997), p. 123-125. In general, however, it should be noted that the mediæval Armenian cities, with some exceptions, are found on the territories of the Arab emirates, rather than on those subject to the native princes, TER GHEWONDYAN (1976), p. 125-135: "The emirates of Bagratid Armenia were essentially composed of cities since the Arab contingents and their Arab rulers settled in cities" (125): "The cities were the centers of the Arab colonies in Armenia" (129).

those items called "Armenian weaving", they are 'butts', seats, rugs, covers, and cushions. There is none equal to them among the things of this world from end to end, and in all directions.²⁸

Dabil is an important city, in it are an inaccessible citadel and great riches. Its name is ancient, its cloth is famous, its river is abundant, it is surrounded by gardens, the city has suburbs, its fortress is reliable, its squares are cross shaped, its fields are wonderful. The main mosque is on a hill and next to the mosque is the church ... By the city is a citadel. The buildings of the inhabitants are made of clay or stone. The city has many gates such as Bab-Keydar, Bab-Tiflis, and Bab-Ani. Despite all of its advantages the Christians are a majority there. Now its population has already diminished and its citadel is in ruins.²⁹

These indications have occasionally led scholars in Armenia to reconsider some of the economic evidence.³⁰ Armenia was unquestionably tributary to the Umayyads from the time of the introduction of the new administrative circumscription of Armīniya at the end of the VIIth century but, as observed by B. Martin-Hisard, "les conditions de la domination arabe étaient incontestablement plus légères que celles de tout autre régime antérieur".³¹ The contemporaries complained about the burden of taxes, but complaints about taxation are surely an eternal leit-motif. The ones from the Interregnum are no more bitter than those of Elišē against the Persian census at the time of the great Armenian revolt of the mid-Vth century.³² Ter Lewondyan considers that the yearly tribute of 500 dahekans paid by Grigor Mamikonean (661-685) was minimal "infime".³³ The famous account of the caliph's amazement at the splendid robes of the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i and his beard powdered with gold dust, argues that at least in the Church a state of destitution did not prevail early in the VIIIth century.³⁴

²⁸ Ibn Ḥawqal, quoted in MANANDIAN (1965), p. 144.

²⁹ AL-MUQQADASI, *idem*. Cf. LAP'ADARYAN (1952, 1982).

³⁰ TER LEWONDYAN (1984), p. 200-202.

³¹ MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 216.

³² E, p. 22: "Դենչապուհ, որ եկեալ Հասեալ Հրամանաւ արքունի... աշխարհադիր առնել ամենայն երկրին Հայոց... խորհուրդք չարագոյն ցուցանէին: ... զազատութիւն եկեղեցւոյն արկանէր ի ծառայութիւն... զՀարկ աշխարհին առաւել ծանրացոյց." = E-T, p. 75-76.

³³ LEWOND, iv, p. 14; TER LEWONDYAN (1984), p. 198-200. He is also of the opinion that in this period Armenia was all but independent.

³⁴ YK, xxii, p. 128-133: "... մեծ իմաստասէրն Յովհաննէս [Օձնեցի]... զարտաքոյսն ի պատուական երանդէ նիւթից զգեստաւորեալ պճնագարդէր, և ոսկի մանր խարտիւ աղացեալ՝ և իւղովք անուշիւք յայն ընդխառնեալ, փչէր ընդ ծաղկեալ ալեօք մորուսն՝ ... [the caliph] նորա զնա տեսանել ըղձացեալ, վաղվաղակի զմի ի ծառայից իւրոց առաքէր՝ առ ինքն զայրն

It is also interesting to note the difference between the version of the Armenian-Arab covenant given by Pseudo-Sebēos:

Let this be the pact of my treaty between me and you for as many years as you may wish. I shall not take tribute from you for a three-year period. Then you will pay [tribute] with an oath, as much as you may wish. You will keep in your country 15,000 cavalry, and provide sustenance from your country, and I shall reckon it in the royal tax. I shall not request the cavalry for Syria, but wherever else I command they shall be ready for duty. I shall not send amirs to [your] fortresses, nor an Arab army—neither many, nor even down to a single cavalryman. An enemy shall not enter Armenia; and if the Romans attack you, I shall send you troops in support, as many as you may wish. I swear by the great God that I shall not be false.³⁵

and the less enthusiastic one granted to the inhabitants of Duin by Ḥabīb ibn Maslamah cited by al-Baladhurī:

In the name of Allah the compassionate the merciful.

This is a treaty of Habib ibn-Maslamah with the Christians, Magians and Jews of Dabil, including those present and absent. I have granted you safety for your lives, possessions, churches, places of worship and city wall. Thus ye are safe and we are bound to fulfil our covenant, so long as ye fulfil yours and pay poll tax and *kharij*. Thereunto Allah is witness, and it is sufficient to have him as witness.³⁶

While the difference between the two may be due merely to their respective dates or to the Armenian author's wish to show the preferential treatment granted to his country, the emphasis in the first on the element missing in the second, namely the renowned Armenian cavalry which

Աստուծոյ անունով: ... Իսկ նորա զաւարտահասակ դիտակն իւր ևս առաւել փայլուն և պաղպաղուն զգեստիւք պննաւորեալ, և զաղէբեկ ծաղկեալ մորուն ոսկեփունջ կազմեալ, և զոսկիանկար զաւազանն որ ի փայտից ոպնիաղից՝ ի ձեռն առեալ, այնպէս ապա գունեան այրն և թիկնաւէտ առ ամիրապետն մտանէր: Զոր տեսեալ Հիւսիցեալ զարմացեալ ընդ գեղեցկութիւն նորա բարեհամբոյր հասակին և շքեղաշուք դիտակին.” = YK-M, p. 110-111; the story was repeated by ASOLIK and in the XIIIth century *History* of KG, p. 67. See above, n. 19, for the relevant text of Asolik.

³⁵ [PS]-SEB, xlviii, p. 164: “Այս լիցի ուխտ Հաշտութեան իմոյ ընդ ես և ընդ ձեզ՝ որչափ ամաց և դուք կամիջիք, և ոչ առնում ի ձենջ սակ զերեան մի. ապա յայնժամ տաջիք երդմամբ, որչափ և դուք կամիջիք: Եւ Հեծեալ կալէք յաշխարհիդ ԺԵ Հազար, և Հաց յաշխարհէն տուք. և ես ի սակն արքունի անգարեմ. և զՀեծեալսն յԱսորիս ոչ խնդրեմ. բայց այլ ուր և Հրամայեմ՝ պատրաստ լիցին ի գործ. և ոչ արձակեմ ի բերդորայն ամիրայս, և ոչ տաճիկ սպայ՝ ի բազմաց մինչև ցմի Հեծեալ: Թշնամի մի՝ մտցէ ի Հայս. և եթէ գայ Հոռոմ ի վերայ ձեր՝ արձակեմ ձեզ զաւրս յաւզնականութիւն՝ որչափ և դուք կամիջիք: Եւ երդնում ի մեծն Աստուած՝ եթէ ոչ ստեմ,” [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 136.

³⁶ HITT (1916/1968), I, p. 314-315.

formed an indispensable component of the armies of the time, is undoubtedly an index of the factor protecting and even favouring the Armenians in the earlier, Umayyad, period.

From at least the Vth century, the heavily armed Armenian cavalry, led by its hereditary commander, the Bagratuni *aspet*, had had a place of honour in the Sasanian army:

It was the rule in former times, when the Armenian cavalry went to court under some distinguished general, for him [the King of kings] to send a man to meet them and inquire about the welfare of Armenia; and he would do the same twice and three times and in person review the force. Before they went out to war he would greatly thank them for coming to him and in front of all his companions and all the magnates he would praise them all and recall the service of their ancestors and rehearse the brave deeds of each man.³⁷

This elite cavalry composed of the magnates, the lesser nobility and the royal retainers received its maintenance from the Sasanian state, and indeed the favour showed by Xusrō II to Smbat Bagratuni undoubtedly derived at least in part from the quasi-permanent and successful service of the Armenian cavalry against the barbarians pushing against the Persian eastern front.³⁸ The Arabs, weak at first in heavily equipped cavalry, were forced in their turn to rely on the assistance of this corps,

... Merwan ibn Muhammad collected a large force, took with him prince Ašot together with his *naxarars* and their cavalry and together they invaded the land of the Huns.³⁹

The primary use of the cavalry seems to have been against the Khazars allies of Byzantium whose raids southward through the Caucasus presented a constant threat to the rear of the Arabs thrusting westward into

³⁷ E, p. 44: "Եւ զի օրէնք էին յառաջ ժամանակաւ, յորժամ ի Հայոց այրուծի ի դուռն երթայր ի ձեռն պատուաւորի զօրագլխի ուրուք, այր ընդ առաջ յղէր, և Հարցանէր զողջոյն և զխաղաղութիւն Հայոց աշխարհին, և երկիցս և երիցս անգամ զնոյն առնէր, և զՀանդէս գնդին ինքնին տեսանէր և յառաջ քան ի գործ պատերազմին Հասանել զգալն իսկ առ նա՝ մեծ շնորհակալութիւն Համարէր, և առաջի աթոռակցացն իւրոց և ամենայն մեծամեծացն՝ զովութիւն մատուցանէր ամենեցուն, և յիշէր զնախնեացն զվաստակս, և զառն առն քաջութիւն պատմէր նոցա:" = E-T, p. 95-96.

³⁸ On the service of the Armenian cavalry during the Sasanian period, see likewise GARSOIAN (2007), p. 97-99, and [PS]-SEB, xxviii-xxix, p. 100-104 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 49-50, 52-54, for the exploits and honours of Smbat Bagratuni.

³⁹ LEWOND, xxii, p. 113: "Յետ այսորիկ զօր բազում գումարէր Մրուան որդի Մահմետի և առնոյր ընդ իւր զիշխանն Աշոտ Հանդերձ նախարարօքն և նոցին Հեծելովք և միաբանեալ ասպատակէին յաշխարհն Հոնաց."

Anatolia. For this reason, the welfare of Caucasian Albania and Armenia forming a bulwark in the path of the Khazars and the loyalty of their cavalry could not safely be disregarded by the Umayyads, so that any extensive and deliberate oppression of the country would have been as unwise as unlikely.⁴⁰

Particular praise is lavished by the Armenian sources on the Prince of Armenia, Grigor Mamikonean (658-682). This praise is directed, not only for the peace that the country enjoyed for over twenty years until he was killed in battle against a Khazar invasion, but for his building activity:

In the days of his rule Grigor, Prince of Armenia, kept the realm of Armenia peaceful from all brigands and attacks, for he was a God-fearing man, a lover of his brother and of the stranger and merciful to the poor, and perfect in the faith in the service of God. And he built a house of worship in the town of Aruč in the district of Aragacotn, a beautifully elegant shrine to the glory of the name of the Lord adorned in commemoration of his own name.⁴¹

The memory of Grigor's building activities and probably the monuments themselves remained intact until the Xth century when they were celebrated by Yovhannēs Kat'olikos:

At about this time, through divine visitation the pious prince Grigor Mamikonean laid the foundation of the beautiful church in the *dastakert* of Aruč and built it in haste as a celestial abode on earth. To the south of it he built his palace on the edge of the rocky glen where a limpid stream gushed bubbling through the recesses of the rocks, so that it covered the edge like

⁴⁰ On the perpetual threat of the Khazars allied with Byzantium see, in particular, LEWOND, iv, v, xii, xviii, xxxi, xxxix, p. 16, 17, 41, 101-102, 131-133, 160-161. It is noteworthy that according to the terms of the treaty cited by Pseudo-Sebeōs the maintenance of the Armenian cavalry assured by the Sasanians was being assumed by the Arabs as well, and only local governors rather than the caliphate sought to destroy it; *ibid.*, viii, p. 23. The last item recorded in the *Anonymous Chronicle* at the very end of the VIIth century is a Khazar raid against the Armenians, Iberians and Caucasian Albanians, in the second year of the reign of Justinian II, ANON, p. 80. See above, I, n. 45. The need to show leniency to the newly conquered peoples because of the Khazar threat is also noted in the revision of Laurent's study by M. Canard, LAURENT-CANARD (1980), p. 45, and by TER GHÉVONDIAN (1986), p. 781.

⁴¹ LEWOND, iv, p. 15: "Իսկ Գրիգոր իշխանն Հայոց յաւուրս իւրոյ իշխանութեանն խաղաղացոյց զաշխարհս Հայոց յամենայն Հինից և յարձակմանց. զի էր այր երկիրդած յԱստուծոյ, եղբայրասէր և օտարասէր և դարմանիչ աղքատաց: Եւ կատարեալ ի Հաւատս աստուածաշտութեան: Եւ շինեաց նա տուն աղօթից ի գաւառն Արագածոտն ի յաւանն Արուճ, տանար փարաց անուան տեանն գեղեցիկ վայելչութեամբ, զարդարեալ ի յիշատակ անուան իւրոյ:"

a parapet on a bastion. And then, encircling it with a wall built with well-fastened stones that were cemented with lime mortar, he set it up as his place of residence.⁴²

The singling out of Grigor's building activities directs our attention to another insufficiently appreciated aspect of the Interregnum. The enormous building activity and architectural vitality of the period, where even the controversial kat'olikos Nersēs III is remembered primarily as "the Builder (*Šinot*)", are familiar to art historians, but its additional significance as a major factor in an evaluation of the period has yet to be sufficiently appreciated by historians.⁴³

Even if we consider merely the territory of the present Republic of Armenia, which is but a fraction of the historical Armenia during the Interregnum, the propagation of churches securely dateable in the VIIth century is remarkable.⁴⁴ Both large and small structures still survive to the present day in an amazing state of preservation testifying to the skill of their builders in a region where earthquakes are endemic.⁴⁵ In addition

⁴² YK, xx, p. 115-116: "Ջայսու ժամանակաւ բարեպաշտ իշխանն Գրիգոր Մանկունեան աստուածային այցելութեամբ Հիմնադրեալ զչքնաղաղեղ եկեղեցին՝ որ ի մեծ դաստակերտին Արուճ, շինէ զնա ստիպով երկնային իմն նեմարան յարդարեալ ի վերայ երկրի. և ի Հարաւոյ կողմանէ զնէ զարքունիսն իւր յեղր քարաժայռ ձորակին, յորում բղխէ ականակիտ աղբիւր պղպջակեալ ընդ քարածերպս վիմարդ քարանցն, որ զեզերս ունի իբրեւ զպսակ պատուարի. և ապա ՀաստաՀեղոյս քարամբք և կրով պարսպեալ՝ կարգ է տուն բնակութեան իւրոյ:" = YK-M., p. 105.

⁴³ An exception is the historian Bernadette Martin-Hisard, who notes the importance of this aspect in her brief survey of the period, MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 218-219, as does, but only in passing, TER LEWONDYAN (1984), p. 202, and ID. (1986), p. 778. Cf. next note.

⁴⁴ While no attempt will be made here to give an analysis and evaluation of Armenian VIIth century architecture for which numerous studies already exist (see following notes) it is high time for historians to consider the significance of the evidence provided by non-written sources.

⁴⁵ Art historians have generally noted the importance of this period for the development of Armenian architecture, *inter alii*, THIERRY-DONABEDIAN (1989), p. 63 sqq.: "Surprisingly, this troubled and uncertain period was artistically an extremely rich one ... The major architectonic problems of the churches were solved"; CUNEO (1988), I, p. 27: "... un formidabile rilancio ed espansione dell' attività costruttiva..." He identifies the VI-VII centuries as the "epoca classica". Most recently, DONABEDIAN (2008) has gone so far as to entitle his study of VIIth century architecture "L'âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne," and to focus his attention on the importance of this period, p. 11-12: "une attention insuffisante a été portée à la période décisive du VII^e siècle où, après la lente maturation des premiers siècles chrétiens, à la faveur d'une généreuse et quasi miraculeuse floraison, ont été élaborés les principaux éléments d'un langage architectural désormais propre aux deux pays chrétiens de la région." He further qualifies the first decades of the VIIth cen-

to the rebuilding by the kat'olikoi Komitas and Ezr of the martyria of the saints Hrip'simē and Gayanē at Vałaršapat, already mentioned, the kat'olikos Nersēs III Šinoł, built for himself nearby at Zwart'noc' a palace complex near the church he dedicated to the Vigilant Powers or Angels which attracted the admiration of the Pseudo-Sebēos as well as that of the later kat'olikos Yovhannēs the Historian:

At that time Nersēs the Catholicos of Armenia decided to build his residence near the holy churches in the city of Vałaršapat ... There he built a church in the name of the Heavenly Angels, who appeared as a multitude of heavenly hosts in the vision of St. Gregory. He built the church as a tall edifice, incomparably beautiful, worthy of the divine honour to which he dedicated it. He brought water, directed [a channel] of the river, and put to cultivation all the rough ground. He planted vines and trees and surrounded his residence with a high wall, beautifully constructed, to the glory of God.

But the patriarch Nersēs, who found spare time for himself, surrounded the exterior of the magnificent church he had built with walls, within [the perimeter] he constructed his own residence which was built with well-fastened polished stones. Moreover, he populated the place with a great many serfs in accordance with the standards of city dwellers and bringing water from the K'asal river, he cultivated the sandy and rocky plain, planting orchards and gardens.⁴⁶

tury as a "période charnière ou de transition," p. 64, reserving the apogee of the architectural Golden Age to the four decades from the mid-650s to the 690s, p. 97-100, and concludes, p. 273: "L'âge d'or du VII^e siècle a doté l'Arménie et la Géorgie d'une grammaire architecturale destinée à durer, moyennant quelques adaptations, jusqu'à nos jours." For his proposed chronology of dateable monuments, see, p. 283-285.

⁴⁶ [PS]-SEB, xlv, p. 147: "Յայնմ ժամանակի արկ ի միտս իւր կաթուղիկոսն Հայոց Ներսէս շինել իւր բնակութիւն մերձ առ սուրբ եկեղեցեացն որ ի Վաղարշապատ քաղաքին, ... Շինեաց անդ և եկեղեցի մի յանուն երկնաւոր Զուարթնոցն, որոց երևեալ ի տեսլեան սրբոյն Գրիգորի բազմութիւն երկնաւոր զաւրացն: Եւ շինեաց զեկեղեցին բարձր շինուածովք և չքնաղ զարմանալեալք, արժանի աստուածային պատուոյն, որում նուիրեացն: Ած ջուր և եբեր զգետոյն և արկ ի գործ զամենայն վայրսն առապար, տնկեաց այգիս և ծառատունկս, և շուրջանակի պատուարեաց զբնակութեամբն զեղեցկադիր յաւրինուածով բարձր պարսպաւ ի փառա Աստուծոյ:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, p. 112; YK, xix, p. 112-113: "Բայց Հայրապետն Ներսէս պարապ անձին գտեալ. զարտաքոյս Հրաշակերտ եկեղեցւոյն՝ զոր իւր իսկ էր շինեալ, շուրջանակի պատուար պարսպով փակեալ ամրացուցանէր, յօրինեալ ի նմա յարկս բնակութեան ինքեան ՀաստաՀեղոյս կոփածու քարամբք: Այլ և կարգեալ կացուցանէր ի նմա ամբոխութիւնս երգումարդաց ըստ պայմանի քաղաքականաց, եւ ածեալ ջուր ի Քասաղ գետոյ՝ զամենայն աւազախիր առապար դաշտավայրն ի գործ արկանէր, անկէր այգիս և բուրաստանս ծաղկոցաց:" = YK-M, p. 104. For the still disputed reconstruction of the church at Zwart'noc', see *inter alii*, MAROUT'YAN (1963), especially pls. 26, 1, 1a, 2, 21; MNAC'AKANYAN (1971), and more recently, CUNEO (1988), I, p. 102-105; THIERRY-DON-ABEDIAN (1989), p. 594-595, figs. 888-891; THIERRY (s.d., Zodiaque), p. 57, 83, and DON-ABEDIAN (2008), p. 190-198, figs. 375-386.

Far from being restricted to the activity of ecclesiastical patrons, or the vicinity of Vałaršapat, the surviving churches of the VIIth century are scattered far and wide. Some are small in size, chapels rather than churches: Lmbatavank', the "red" church dedicated to the Mother of God at Aštarak, Saint Sergius at Bĭjni, St. Sion at Ōšakan, the little church dedicated to the Theotokos at T'alın, Oskepar, Pemzašēn, among them.⁴⁷ However, Komitas' churches, the cathedrals of St. Yovhannēs at Bagawan, to which Donabēdian refers as "le plus grand monument du VII^e siècle",⁴⁸ and the cathedral at T'alın, as well as Grigor Mamikonean's foundation at Añuč, the churches of Pñni and Mren in the north, St. Yovhannēs in distant Sisian, Gañnahovit lost on the slopes of Mt. Aragac, probably Awan, perhaps Mastara and the early VIIIth century basilica of Ōjun are of majestic proportions.⁴⁹ Not only are these surviving structures unex-

⁴⁷ This list, which contains a sampling of the better known or better preserved monuments, makes no pretense at inclusiveness for which see the art historical studies cited hereafter. For recent presentations of Armenian architecture including the period with which we are concerned, which are too numerous to list here, see CUNEO (1988), I, p. 27-31, below by name; THIERRY (s.d., *Zodiaque*) and most recently, DONABEDIAN (2008), who gives a typological analysis and cites the theses of earlier studies, as well as monographs on a particular region or monument. For the small churches see CUNEO (1988), I, §113, p. 254, §74, p. 195, §46, p. 158-159, §61, p. 180, §92, p. 223, 155, p. 319, §105, p. 240-241. Also, Arzni §35-36, p. 143, St. Sargis at Artik §109, p. 144-145, Šenik, §95, p. 227, and Morujori vank' §163, p. 334; THIERRY-DONABEDIAN (1989), p. 74, p. 497, figs. 635-636, and col. pl. 18, p. 504, fig. 655, p. 581, fig. 853, p. 565, figs. 809-810, col. pl. 39; THIERRY (s.d., *Zodiaque*), p. 48, 55, col. pls. 22, 39; DONABEDIAN (2008), etc. For the geographical distribution of the churches, see THIERRY (s.d., *Zodiaque*), p. 88-92, maps which, however, include all of historical Armenia and not merely the territory of the present Republic. See also, DONABEDIAN (2008).

⁴⁸ DONABEDIAN (2008), p. 93, and figs. 154-155.

⁴⁹ For the larger churches, see CUNEO (1988), §5, p. 98-101, §2, p. 94-95, §92, p. 330-223, §84, p. 212-213, §32, p. 140-141, §212, p. 408-409, §97, p. 230-231, §9, p. 108-109, §93, p. 224-225, §137, p. 282-285, also Dēdmašēn §174, p. 358-359; THIERRY-DONABEDIAN (1989), p. 518-519, figs. 690-693, p. 518, fig. 689, col. pl. 36, p. 580-581, fig. 951, col. pl. 30, p. 495-496, figs. 627-620, col. pls. 34-35, p. 561, fig. 812, p. 556-557, figs. 786-790, col. pl. 31, p. 576, fig. 839, col. pl. 20, p. 528, figs. 718-717, p. 500, figs. 642-643, col. pl. 21, p. 555, figs. 780-783, p. 562, figs. 104-186, col. pl. 26; THIERRY (s.d., *Zodiaque*), p. 50, col. pl. 26-27, p. 84, col. pls. 47-48, p. 56-57, col. pls. 41-42, p. 57, col. pls. 43, 46, p. 53, col. pls. 31-34, p. 50-51, 54-55, col. pls. 36, 38, p. 87, col. pl. 55; MAROUT'YAN (1976); *Documenti di architettura armena* §16 (1986); DONABEDIAN (2008), p. 83-87, 104-114, 119-122, 128, 168-175, 190-198, figs. 148-152, 154-159, 163-165, 170-174, 189-192, 197-208, 275-286, 313-322. Although the dimensions of the church of Mastara are inferior to those of the great cathedrals, the disproportionate size of its dome and the absence of internal supports give the impression of a large structure, see *ibid*, p. 154-157, figs. 282-286.

pectedly numerous given their early date, they display amazing variations in typology: the great domed basilicas of St. Gayanē, Ptñi, Aṛuč, T'alín, and eventually Ōjun; the multilobed plans of Zuart'noc' and even more of the Zorawar, of Aragac and of Irind⁵⁰; the tighter cruciform plan, which would be the preferred model for the later Bagratid and post-Bagratid churches, characteristic of the smaller structures but also adopted successfully for the larger churches at Sisian and Gaṛnahovit attest to a wide ranging experimentation.⁵¹ Even within the cruciform type, the outsize dome of Mastara which required a double row of squinches to achieve the squaring of the circle and dispenses with the inner supporting pillars of the drum, differs markedly from the more common, tighter, solution at Lmbat or Ōjun.⁵² The normal use of the native soft and multicoloured tufa is abandoned for basalt in the "black" church of Sisian. These and numerous other variations reflect a period of effervescent creativity rather than one of unimaginative and mediocre stagnation. The VIIth century surge in architecture, the slowest and most expensive of all the arts, supports the indices of economic stability already adduced and once again runs counter to any global negative evaluation of the Interregnum. It suggests, as against the general claim of the narrative sources, the existence of periods and regions of peaceful stability and even prosperity.⁵³

⁵⁰ CUNEO (1988), I, §52, p. 165, §89, p. 217, §91, p. 218; THIERRY-DONABEDIAN, (1989), p. 491, figs. 615-617, p. 539, figs. 745-747, p. 593, figs. 883-884; THIERRY (s.d., Zodiaque), p. 105-106.

⁵¹ For the systematic presentations of the typology of Armenian churches, see CUNEO (1988), II, p. 710-733, and illustrations, p. 752-773; THIERRY-DONABEDIAN, *In fine*; THIERRY (s.d., Zodiaque), p. 299-312, 327-332, who observes, p. 46: "l'Arménie n'a fait qu'un usage très limité du plan basilical et, pour les grandes églises comme pour les petites chapelles, a préféré les plans centraux en croix avec coupole", p. 49: "Abandonnant le plan basilical, les fondateurs adoptèrent vers l'an 600 un plan complexe de tétraconque à niches d'angle". While this is undoubtedly the case, domed basilicas such as St. Gayanē, the cathedrals at T'alín, Aṛuč, Ōjun, etc., are still common in the period with which we are concerned. See the preceding notes. The general conclusion for the Interregnum has been, THIERRY-DONABEDIAN (1989), p. 63: "The solutions are so numerous, the plans so varied and the architectural activity so intense that we can describe it as a veritable typological explosion". See also, DONABEDIAN (2008), *passim*.

⁵² Cf. e.g. CUNEO (1988), p. 225 plates, and p. 285, lower right hand plate, or THIERRY (s.d., Zodiaque), col. pl. 24, for the interior of the dome at Lmbat, and the next note.

⁵³ DONABEDIAN (2008), p. 97-100, sees the second half of the VIIth century as "une quarantaine d'années particulièrement fastes," and gives as evidence "l'architecture, meilleure illustration de cet essor". See above, p. 30-33, on indices of economic vitality.

The multitude of churches attributed to this period supply one more interesting addition to the evaluation of the Interregnum. With the exception of the buildings erected by the kat'olikoi Komitas, Ezr, and Nersēs III in or near the holy city of Vałaršapat and those in the administrative capital of Duin, for which there is yet no final study,⁵⁴ the surviving monuments of the VIIth century have no urban context but are scattered far and wide. The unmistakeable link they do display is with the major noble families of the period. The great cathedrals of Ařuč and T'alın were constructed away from the centers of ecclesiastical or secular administrative power, next to the palaces of the Mamikonean in the first case and the Kamsarakan in the second. Fragments of these long destroyed palaces can still be identified in their immediate vicinity.⁵⁵ Not only did the great magnates erect these monuments next to their own residences, they made clear their specific connexion to these foundations in the dedicatory inscriptions making them in a sense private possessions:

In the 29th year of Constans [II] in the month Mareri which was day 15 [24 March, 670], this holy cathedral was founded by means of Grigor Mamikonean prince of Armenia and Hełinē the spouse of the same for the intercession of the builders [of] this.⁵⁶

Even where the building being dedicated is not in immediate juxtaposition with the family seat, as is the case at both Alaman and Mren, and where its founder may not have been a member of the clan,⁵⁷ the family link is spelled out:

In the twenty seventh year of Heraclius pious king in the time of Nersēs lord of Širak and Ařarunik' [sic] and of T'eop'ilos bishop of Ařarunik' I, Grigor *etustr* [illustris] and Mariam my wife built this holy church for the sake of our souls.

⁵⁴ On the excavations at Duin, see ŁAP'ADARYAN (1952) and DONABEDIAN (2008), 211-214.

⁵⁵ Fragments of the Mamikonean palace are visible next to their church at Ařuč. See the *Documenti di architettura armena* §16, pl. 41, 43, and DONABEDIAN (2008), p. 216-217, fig. 431-433. The kat'olikoi likewise erected palaces near their new foundations at Zuartnoc' and Duin, *ibid.*, 213-215, figs. 423-429.

⁵⁶ GREENWOOD (2004), §11, p. 86 and fig. 11: "Ի ԵՒ Թ ԱՄԻ ԿՈՍՏԱՆՏՆԻ ՄԱՐԵ/ ԲԻ ԱՄՍՈՅ ՈՐ ԱԻ[Ր] Ժ ԵՒ Ե ՀԻՄՆ / ԱՐԿԵՑԱԻ ՍՈՒՐԲ ԿԱԹՈՂԻԿԵՍ / Ի ՁԵՌՆ ԳՐԻԳՈՐԻ ՄԱՄԻԿՈՆԵԱՆԻ / ՀԱՅ[Ի]ՈՑ ԻՇԽԱՆԻ ԵՒ ՀԵՂԻՆԷ / Ի ՆՈՐԻՆ ՋՈՒԳԱԿԸՑԻ / Ի ԲԱՐԵԽԱԻ ՍՈՒԹԻՆ ՇԻՆԱԻ / ՂԱՑ ՋՍԱ."

⁵⁷ Mren was probably a foundation of the kat'olikos Ezr completed by the first Prince of Armenia, Dawit' Sahafuni, as is claimed by Yovhannēs Kat'olikos, YK, xix, p. 103-104 = YK-M, p. 100-101, see N. THIERRY (1997), p. 165, n. 4. The seat of the Kamsarakan at T'alın was close to that of the Mamikonean at Ařuč.

... of the king Heraclius in the office of prince [...] of the all praiseworthy *patrik kourapatat* and *sparapet* of Armenia and Syria and in the office of bishop of [...] [T'e]ovp'ilos and in the office of *tanutēr* of Nerseh lord of Širak and of Ašarunik', this holy church was built [for the intercession] of the Kamsarakank' and Mren and Aser ...⁵⁸

The family's unalienable hereditary possessions are invariably recorded alongside the offices bestowed by exterior powers. The exiguous dimensions of many of these churches suggest further that they were the palatine chapels of the great nobles rather than community or episcopal foundations, as is explicitly stated in the inscription of the little church of the Theotokos at T'alín:

I Nerseh *apohypat pa[trik]* lord of [Š]irak and Ašarunik' (sic) built this church in the name of the Holy Mother of God for the intercession of myself and Šušan my wife and Hrahat our son.⁵⁹

Beyond the attestation which they bring as to the relative prosperity of central Armenia, the evident link between the monuments and the noble families of their founders supplies one more index on the society of the Interregnum. From the days of the Arsacid monarchy the prevailing local system of institutions shared with Parthian even more than Sasanian Iran, the foundation of Armenian society was not a function of any central government but was made up of a nexus of noble families to whom belonged both vast estates and hereditary offices which even the king's manifest will could not gainsay. These were offices to which only a member of a particular family was entitled, even when circumstances made it impossible for him to fulfill their functions. Such was, for instance, according to the Vth century *Epic Histories*, the case of little

⁵⁸ Ibid., §4, p. 81-82: "[Բ]ՍԱՆ ԵՒ ԵԻԹՆԵՄԻՈՅ ՀԵՐԱԿՂԻ ԲԱՐԵՊԱՇՏ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐԻ ՆԵՐՍԵՉԻ Շ / ԻՐԱԿԱՅ ԵՒ ԱՇԱՐՈՒՆԵ / ԱՅ ՏԵԱՌՆ ԵՒ ԹԵ / ՈՓ / ԻՂՈՍԻ ԱՇ]ԱՐՈՒՆ / ԵԱՑ ԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍ[Ի] ԵՍ ԳՐԻԳՈ / Ի ԵՂՈՒՍՏԻ ԵՒ ՄԱՐԻԱՄ ԻՄ / ԿԻՆ ՇԻՆԵՑԱՔ ՋՍՈ / ԻՐԲ ԵԿ[Ե]ՂԵՑԻ / Ս ՎԱՍՆ ՄԵՐ ՀՈԳԻՈՑ:"; §7, p. 83: "[---] ՈՐԴԻ ՀԵՐԱԿՂԻ ԲԱՐԵՑԱՂԹՈՂ ԹԱԳԱՒՈՐԻ ՅԻՇԽԱՆՈՒԹԵ[ԱՆ] / [---] [Ա]ՄԵՆԱԳՈՎ ՊԱՏՐԿԻ ԿՈՒՐԱՊԱՂԱՏ[Ի] [Ե]Ի ՍՊԱՐԱ[ՊԵ] / [ՏԻ ՀԱՅ]ՈՑ ԵՒ ԱՍՈՐԻՈՑ ԵՒ ՅԵՊԻՍԿՈՊՈՍՈՒԹԵԱՆ[.] ՍՐ[.]Ա [---] [ԹԵ]ՈՎՓԻՂՈՍԻ ԵՎ Ի ՏԱՆՈՒՏԷՐՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՆԵՐՍԵ[ՀԻ] / [ՇԻՐԱ]ԿԱՅ ԵՒ ԱՇԱՐՈՒՆԵԱՑ ՏԵԱՌՆ ՇԻՆԵՑԱԻ ՍՈՒՐԲ ԵԿԵՂԵՑ[Ի]ՄԻ ԲԱՐԵՆԱԻՍ]ՈՒԹԻՒՆ / ԿԱՄՍԱՐԱԿԱՆԵԱՑ ԵՒ ՄՐԵՆՈՑ ԵՒ ԱՍԵՐ [...]"

⁵⁹ Ibid., §12, p. 86: "ԵՍ ՆԵՐՍԵՉ ԱՊՈՀԻՊԱՏ ՊԱ[ՏՐԻԿ ՇԻ]ՐԱԿԱՅ ԵՒ ԱՇԱՐՈՒՆԵԱՑ ՏԷՐ ՇԻ / ՆԵՑԻ ՋԵԿԵՂԵՑԻՍ ՅԱՆՈՒՆ ՍՐԲ[Ո]Յ Ա[ՍՏՈՒԱ] ԾԱԾՆԻ Ի ԲԱՐԵՆԱԻՍՈՒ / ՏԻՒՆ ԻՆՁ ԵՒ ՇՈՒՇԱՆԱՅ ԱՄՈՒՍՆՈՅ ԻՄՈՅ ԵՒ / ՀՐԱՀԱՏԱՅ ՈՐԴԻՈՑ ՄԵՐՈՑ:"

Artawazd Mamikonean who kept all the titles and prerogatives of his father although his young age made it patently impossible for him to perform his family's hereditary duties as *sparapet*/commander-in-chief of the army, and temporary substitutes had to be appointed:

... they gave his father's *gah* (throne) and cushion to the son of the commander-in-chief Vač'ē, who was a small child named Artawazd. ... They placed his father's diadem on his head in front of the king, and (bestowed upon him) the office of *sparapet* in his place, for indeed he was the son of a worthy man from a worthy clan, and because no other adults could be found in that clan, since they had all died in the great war. And the duties of the command were assumed by Aršawir Kamsarakan, prince of Širak and the district of Aršarunik' and by Andovk, prince of Siwnik', because they were the sons-in-law of the house of the Mamikonean family.⁶⁰

Likewise, if a single member of a clan survived, he remained the automatic heir apparent of all its possessions and prerogatives.

And since there was no one else left from that [Bakur's] clan, the king gave the girl [Bakur's daughter] in marriage to his favourite Valinak Siwni as well as the domain of Ałjnik', and made him *bdeašx* and successor of that house ... But one boy among Bakur's sons had fled and ... survived ... [It was he] who later became the heir of his house and who, at another time, returned and took possession of his own house.⁶¹

At the disastrous battle of Awarayr in 451, the Armenian nobility fighting the Sasanians' attempt to reimpose Zoroastrianism on a Chris-

⁶⁰ See BP, III.xi, p. 38-39: "Սակայն զՎաչէի զօրավարի փոքրիկ մանգիկ մի զնորուն զորդի ի Հայրենի բարձ գահուն մատուցանէին, որուն անուն էր... Արտաւազդ: Առաջի թագաւորին զՀօրն պատին ի գլուխն դնէին, և զսպարապետութեան նորուն տեղի. զի կարի որդի վաստակաւորի էր, և ի վաստակաւոր ազգէ. զի այլ յազգին ոչ գտաւ Հօժկու, զի ի մեծ պատերազմին մեռան: Եւ զզօրավարութեան զգործ յանձն առնէին Արշաւրայ Կամսարականի՝ իշխանին Շիրակայ և արշարունեաց գաւառին, և Անդովկայ իշխանին Սիւնեաց, զի նոքա փեսայք էին տանն մամիկոնեան տոհմին: = BP-G, p. 81.

⁶¹ BP, III.ix, p. 32: "Եւ իբրեւ այլ ոք ոչ էր ճնացեալ յազգէն, ետ արքայ զաղջիկնի կնութիւն սիրելոյն արքայի Վաղինեկայ սիւնւոյ, և զտունն Աղձնեաց. և արար զնա բղեաշխ և պայազատ տան նորուն: ... Բայց յորդոցն Բակուր բղեշխի պատանեակ մի փախեաւ... թագուցեալ... Որ առ յապա ժառանգ տան նորա լինէր: Որ յայլուն ժամանակի դարձաւ կալաւ զտունն իւր:" = BP-G, p. 77. Similarly, BP, IV.xix, p. 137-138: "Բայց զտոհմս կամսարականացն՝ որ էին գաւառաց տեարք, Շիրակայ և Արշարունեաց, ազգատ առնէր, և զգաւառան ունէր յոստան: Բայց յազգէն յայնմանէ մանկիկ մի փոքրիկ, անուն Սպանդարատ, թագուցեալ ապրեցուցանէր սպարապետն զօրավարն Հայոց Վասակ, որ յետոյ լինէր ժառանգ աշխարհին:" = BP-G, p. 149. "[King Aršak II] extirpated the house of the Kamsarakan, who were the lords of the districts of Širak and Aršarunik', and took their districts for the *ostan*. But the commander-in-chief of Armenia, Vasak [Mamikonean], hid and saved one little boy of that clan named Spandar, who later inherited his realm."

tian Armenia had been all but annihilated and with it the crucial nexus of this aristocratic society. As a result it left behind powerless small children, some of whom were taken to Persia as hostages and others educated at the court of the border lord of Gugark', Ašušay.⁶² According to the historians of the great Armenian rebellion, Łazar P'arpec'i and Elišē, 1036 nobles had died together with their commander-in-chief Vardan Mamikonean on the battlefield of Awarayr, while others were taken captive to Persia.⁶³ Yet, because the hostages had eventually returned and the children of the dead left behind at home had grown to claim their prerogatives, the all important web of great families had apparently reformed. Pseudo-Sebēos in the VIIth century uses precisely the same terms to describe the great Armenian nobles who accompanied Smbat Bagratuni in his expedition against the K'ušans, "with each one's contingent and banner," as did the *Epic Histories* when they identified the highest Armenian nobility of the IVth century as "the greatest nobles ... the lords with contingents and banners".⁶⁴ All the leading houses known to the early *Epic Histories* — the Mamikonean, the Kamsarakan, the Arcruni, the Bagratuni, the Siuni, the Řštuni, the Amatuni, the Gnuni, the Xořxoruni, the Dimak'sean, the Gnt'uni, the Sahařuni, etc. — find their place in the *History* of the Pseudo-Sebēos. The survival of these families is further corroborated by the episcopal lists which still record the presence of the representatives of nearly all of the same houses at both councils of Duin in VIth century, as well as in the next century and even, according to the Syriac version, of those present at the council of Manazkert in 725.⁶⁵ In short, the all important network of great families

⁶² ŁP', II.xlii, III.lix, lxii, p. 75-76, 107, 110-111 = ŁP'-T, p. 120, 158, 162-163; *Letter*, p. 188 = ŁP'-T, p. 250.

⁶³ ŁP', II.xxxix, xlii, p. 72-73, 75 = ŁP'-T, p. 116, 119-120; E, p. 119-120 = E-T, p. 171-172.

⁶⁴ [PS]-SEB, xxviii, p. 101: "Եւ այս են իշխանք նախարարացն Հայոց, որ ընդ նմա իւրաքանչիւր գնդաւ և դրաւչու." = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 50; cf. BP, IV.iii, p. 77: "մեծամեծք նաւապետք... գնդից և դրոշուց տեարք." = BP-G, p. 108, 522.

⁶⁵ In the Armenia of the period with which we are concerned bishops were members of the clan which they represented, and Pseudo-Sebēos explicitly quotes a reference of the prince of Siwnik' to the seal of the bishop of his house, [PS]-SEB, xxiii, p. 95: "Սաւակ [Սիւնի]... կնքէր մատանեաւ իւրով և տանն եպիսկոպոսի." = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 43. Consequently, the presence of a clan-bishop necessarily attests the survival of the family to which he belonged.

When allowances are made for defective documentation, such as that of the Armenian list of bishops present at the council of Manazkert in 725/6 as against the far fuller but

which lay at the base of Armenian society was not restricted to the IVth century, nor did it disappear in the Vth. Greenwood's detailed study of the variations to be found in the Armenian social structure and the evidence of its various recorded titles of the relationships of the local magnates to each other and to the governors appointed by the dominant powers, as reflected in the narrative and epigraphic sources, likewise brought him to the conclusion that «In spite of the political upheavals in the Near East during the first half of the seventh century and the psychological shock that it inflicted upon contemporaries, the impression that one derives from these sources is that the Armenian social order did not undergo significant change during that turbulent century. The evidence is fragmentary but it suggests that the Armenian social structure continued to be organized around a number of leading princely families who dominated particular districts... the Sasanian administration had always utilized pre-existing political structures rather than imposing a framework of local officials independent of those structures. There is nothing to suggest that the second half of the seventh century witnessed any significant development before 695 when Muhammad b. Merwan made his first appearance.»⁶⁶

Both the prosopography derived from official ecclesiastical documentation as well as the narrative sources and the evidence of the contemporary monuments indicate that it was a constant element which survived and re-constituted itself after periods of crisis, and the architectural surge of the VIIth century testifies to its presence and vitality at this time.⁶⁷

occasionally obscure Syriac one preserved in the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian — or for doctrinal disputes, which kept many southern bishops including the bishop of Arcrunik' away from the council of 555, though a post-conciliar *Letter* to him attests his existence — we find that bishops representing the Mamikonean (or their domain of Tarōn), the Arcruni, the Siwni, Aršarunik' (the domain of the Kamsarakan), the Rštuni, the Bznuni, the Amatuni, the Xořxořuni, the Gnuni, to mention only the greatest houses, are systematically recorded, at the successive Armenian councils of 505/6, 555, 644/5, and 725/6. Perhaps inaccurately, almost all are given as present at the council of Artasat as far back as 450. No hiatus in these lists suggests the disappearance of the corresponding princely house. See ADONTZ (1970a), p. 258-259, 262-263, 87*-102*; cf. TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 240-251; HEWSEN (1997a), p. 97-137, and the sources cited by them.

⁶⁶ GREENWOOD (2000), p. 275-276, etc. He likewise identifies the establishment of the more oppressive Abbasid domination as a significant watershed here.

⁶⁷ MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 218, notes that this architectural activity was also an index of that of the Church: "Le déploiement d'une activité architecturale manifesta cette vitalité religieuse." The relative solidity of Armenian society in the mid-VIIth century and its symbiosis with the Church were also noted by TER-GHÉVON-

One of the favorite *topoi* repeated by both Anania Širakac'i and Movsēs Xorenac'i, and often too readily accepted by modern scholarship, was that the Armenians "do not like studies and science. They are lazy and easily wearied,"⁶⁸ or still more categorically,

... it seems to me that just as nowadays, so also in the past the Armenians were not enamoured of scholarship or oral songs. Therefore it is superfluous for us to say anything more about those unlettered, lazy, and barbarous men.⁶⁹

And yet, the careers and works of both authors contradict their assertions and a re-evaluation becomes mandatory. Far from being ignorant, the Interregnum was a learned period which saw the shift from translation restricted primarily to scriptural texts to an interest in secular works of learning largely grammatical and philosophical, leading both to the introduction of Aristotelianism and the enrichment of the Armenian lexicon through the development of a vocabulary adequate for the rendering of intellectual, in particular of philosophical material, even if the precise translation of the components within a Greek term occasionally resulted in awkward Armenian compounds. This was the work of the so-called Hellenizing School, whose now revised dates place its activity well within the range of the Interregnum.⁷⁰

DIAN (1986), p. 778: "À la veille de la domination arabe, la féodalité arménienne présentait donc une organisation intérieure assez stable. Elle s'était aussi créée une culture de caractère national nettement souligné et dont l'Église arménienne se faisait un apanage."

⁶⁸ AN. ŠIR., p. 208-209.

⁶⁹ MX, I.iii, p. 11: "Այլ ինձ թուի, որպէս այժմ՝ և առ Հինսն Հայաստանեայցս լեալ անսիրելութիւն իմաստութեան և երգարանաց բանաւորաց: Վասն որոյ աւելորդ է մեզ և այլ յաղագս արանց անբանից թուլամտաց վայրենեաց ճանել:" = MK, p. 67.

⁷⁰ MANANDYAN (1928), AKINEAN (1932), and more recently TERIAN (1982), p. 175, *et passim*, with the earlier bibliography, who opens his study of the Hellenizing school with the definition: "The Armenian literary heritage of the sixth to eighth centuries is comprised for the most part of a vast corpus of translations from Greek, which unlike biblical and theological translations of the Golden Age (fifth century), maintains the Greek word order or syntax. These predominantly philosophical translations have been called the work of the Hellenizing School." He now places the flowering of the School from the late sixth century works such as the *Girk' ēakac'*, which he dates 576/7 and the translation of the *Ars grammatikē* of Dionysios Thrax. Moreover, he notes that the rhetorical work known as the *Girk' Pitoyic'*, or *Book of Chries*, was known to VIIth century authors. He argues furthermore that the translations of the so-called "third group" are not attested before the seventh century, that, "the last name to be associated with the School is that of Step'anos Siwnec'i to whom is attributed most of the translations constituting the "fourth group"

Leaving aside for the moment the *vexata quaestio* of Xorenac'i's date, to which I shall return, let it suffice to say that Anania, whose life span lies squarely within the limits of the VIIth century, whose work shows the influence of Aristotelian translations,⁷¹ and whose *K'nnikon* was to become the basis of most subsequent curricula for centuries to come, is the perfect example of a polymath. Primarily a mathematician, bilingual in Greek and Armenian, widely traveled and trained in the scholarship of antiquity, his multiple surviving writings display his knowledge of cosmography, astronomy, theology, possibly magic, treatises on weights and measures, as well as a brief autobiography, which is the only early Armenian work of this genre.⁷² As was noted by J.-P. Mahé in his extensive study of the development of the Armenian scholarly curriculum in the VIIth century: «En fait, même après sa soumission officielle à la domination arabe en 661, l'Arménie recouvre à cette époque une liberté dont elle avait été privée depuis un siècle et qui se traduit aussitôt par l'affirmation de son originalité intellectuelle.... Sur le plan de l'enseignement et de la vie intellectuelle, les efforts des savants visent à l'autarcie, à la création d'instruments assurant les bases d'une culture autonome. L'influence grecque n'est pas rejetée, elle est étroitement limitée... les auteurs qu'on traduit en arménien à partir de 555 sont liés, pour une large part, à la science alexandrine.... Dans la première moitié du VII^e siècle... la mission qu'il [Anania] se donne et qu'il remplit d'ailleurs avec éclat, consiste donc à importer dans sa langue maternelle les disciplines scientifique du quadrivium: arithmétique, musique, géométrie et astronomie.»⁷³

and concludes that, "The cumulative evidence suggests that the Hellenizing School was active 570 to 730 at Constantinople. See also the next notes. The very translation method developed by the Hellenizing school, namely the decomposition of Greek compounds, the translation of each component and the recomposition to form new Armenian compounds reflects the preoccupations or even pedantry of learned scholars rather than that of an ignorant milieu.

⁷¹ TERIAN (1982), p. 180 and n. 54: "The early influence of the Aristotelian translations on native writers is most clearly seen in the writings of Anania Širakac'i, especially the influence of the pseudo-Aristotelian *De mundo* on Anania's *Yalags šrjagayut'ean erknic'*".

⁷² THOMSON (1995), p. 97-100; BERBERIAN (1964), p. 189-194; see also RUSSELL (1988-1989), p. 159-170, and HANJB, I, p. 149-150 §3. In the opinion of ABRAHAMYAN (1944), the translated *Anonymous Chronicle* is also to be attributed to Širakac'i, though this has not been unanimously accepted, see GREENWOOD (2008), p. 248-249.

⁷³ MAHÉ (1987), p. 160-162 *et passim*, with the translation of the pertinent passages and bibliography, as well as n. 13, for the main works probably translated, and p. 173, on the translated manuals and the Aristotelian tradition.

The VIIIth century *Armenian Geography* (*Ašxarhac'oyc'*), which displays an explicit familiarity with the works of the ancient *Geography* of Ptolemy, as well as Marinus of Tyre and Pappus of Alexandria, though long attributed to Xorenac'i, is now considered to be Anania's work.⁷⁴ Because of his fame as a mathematician, according to the early XIth century historian, Asofik, when

Anastas [kat'ofikos, 661-668] had in mind to set up an Armenian fixed calendar like that of other nations, he commanded Anania Širakac'i to make an admirable chronology by which he would set up our fixed calendar.⁷⁵

The learned mathematics for which Anania was famous find their counterpart in the more applied sphere of architecture. The contemporary architects, who experimented and found multiple solutions for the problem of opposing thrusts and of the progression from the square of the crossed arches or vaults of the main building to its polygonal or circular drum, may not have had the theoretical knowledge underlying their successful solutions, but their practical mastery testifies to the existence of a class of master builders sufficiently aware of their expertise and importance to record their presence in sculptured reliefs such as the ones at Zuart'noc'.⁷⁶ The great architectural tradition, which would induce the

⁷⁴ ABRAHAMYAN (1940). The most recent and detailed study of the *Armenian Geography* is by HEWSEN (1992), subsuming the earlier works of MARQUART (1901), TOUMANOFF (1963) and EREMYAN (1963); also *infra*, p. 116-120.

⁷⁵ ASOLIK, p. 99: "Իսկ Անաստաս խորհեալ Հայաստանեայցս կարգել տոմար անշարժ ըստ այլոց ազգաց՝ և Հրամայէ Անանիայի Շիրակացւոյ կարգել զքրօնիկոնն Հրաշազան, յորում զտոմարս մեր կարգեաց անշարժ." Cf. MAHÉ (1987), p. 199-200 §7-8, for the translation of the relevant passages, and (1993), p. 474-476. A work on weights and measures showing a familiarity with the science of Antiquity has also been attributed to Ananias, see MANANDYAN (1968), p. 369-419.

⁷⁶ MNACAKANYAN (1971), p. 128-131, and *Armenia Sacra* (2007), p. 95, col. pl. 23. Little can be said of the development of the much more fragile art of monumental painting in the churches of this period, since the most noteworthy example preserved is the heavenly vision with the tetramorphs in the little church of St. Stephen at Lmbat, THIERRY-DONABEDIAN (1987), p. 80, and THIERRY (s.d., *Zodiaque*), p. 49, col. pl. 23-24. However, the presence of traces of the underlying stucco in the cathedrals of T'alin and Ōjun, among others (*ibid.*, col. pl. 43), and of some frescoes at Mren and Añuč (*ibid.*, p. 57), DONABEDIAN (2008), p. 221-222, fig. 435, and more importantly of the *Treatise in Defense of Images* against those who "say that there must be no pictures or images in the churches" by Vrt'anēs K'ertol, the *locum tenens* of the katholikate from 604 to 607, DER NERSESSIAN (1944-1945), testify to its existence, while the skill in the representation of the vision at Lmbat suggests its considerable degree of expertise. See also EAD. (1973), I, p. 525 sq., and DONABEDIAN (2008), p. 223-230, on the sculptural decoration, as well as MATHEWS (2008-2009), p. 103-

Byzantine court to turn to Armenia in the Xth century for a master capable of repairing the damaged dome of Hagia Sophia, appears to have been already in existence during the Interregnum.

On further observation, Anania Širakac'i's multiple expertise and his familiarity with Greek learning was not a sole exception in an otherwise unlettered society. The tradition of Armenian translators from the Greek was maintained in the next generation.⁷⁷ Probably the two best known among them are P'ilon T'irakac'i, whose version of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sokrates Scholastikos was done presumably in 695/6, according to the only dated colophon,⁷⁸ and especially Step'anos Siwnec'i, bishop of Siwnik', who died ca. 735, translator, philosopher, theologian, liturgist, musician who, while staying in Constantinople, made among others the first translation into Armenian of the Greek works attributed to the Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, including the *Heavenly Hierarchies*, which was to influence the theory of the relationship between the Armenian Church and the neighbouring Churches of Caucasia. They continued the learned tradition,⁷⁹ as did the scholarly grammarian, Movsēs,

104, and n. 12, 118 *et passim*, for the probability of the existence of smaller icons as well as larger wall paintings in this early period. The problem of iconoclasm in early Christian Armenia, and the implications of the hitherto relatively little studied *Treatise* of Vrtanēs K'ertol have recently attracted considerable attention, *ibid.*, with the pertinent bibliography.

⁷⁷ PEETERS (1950), Appendix, p. 189: "pendant toute la durée de son histoire, l'Arménie chrétienne continua, comme elle avait commencé, d'être un pays de traducteurs." Cf. TERIAN (1982), p. 175 see also above, n. 70, and the next two notes.

⁷⁸ "In the year 6204 of [this] transitory life, in accordance with the chronology of Saint Sophia, ... and in the 704th of the coming of Christ, and in the 144th year of the [Armenian] era, and in the ninth indiction, in the first year of the reign of the third Leon, emperor Augustus — P'ilon Tirakac'i translated at the first attempt this book culled from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates ...", THOMSON (2001), p. 9, who accepts that "the figures given agree on AD 695/6", but goes on to discuss the numerous problems of the date and other aspects of this version, *ibid.*, p. 9-40. See also the earlier study of PEETERS (1934). Citing a late XIIIth century ms. (Matenadaran 5254), GREENWOOD (2008), p. 249, presents the hypothesis that P'ilon might also be the translator of the *Anonymous Chronicle*.

⁷⁹ HANJB, IV, p. 603-605, FINDIKYAN (2004), THOMSON (1987), *Id.* (1995), p. 44, 201-202, AREVSHATYAN (2005-2007), p. 401-408. On the dating of the translation and commentaries on the *Τέχνη γραμματική* of Dionysius Thrax and the Armenian school of grammarians which he places in the VIIth century, see ADONTZ (1970b), p. clxxix: "... [le] VII^e siècle et c'est dans les limites de ce siècle qu'il faut vraisemblablement situer l'époque des grammairiens dont il vient d'être question," *et passim*, and TERIAN (1982), p. 185, n. 25-28. Cf. also the now obsolescent work on Armenian translations of ZARP'ANALEAN (1889); and in particular the more recent review of the Hellenizing school

Step'anos's teacher and predecessor as bishop of Siwnik', his namesake and successor in the see of Siwnik', Movsēs "K'ertoi",⁸⁰ Tē'odoros K'rt'enawor, related to both the kat'olikoi, Komitas and Ezr, as well as the teacher of the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i, who according to the XIIIth century historian Step'anos Ōrbelean, was the one responsible in 632 for persuading the Armenian katolikos Ezr to accept a dogmatic reconciliation with the imperial church at the council of Theodosioupolis/Karin.⁸¹ Finally for the third period, at the beginning of the VIIIth century, comes the active period of the theologian Xosrovik T'argmanič', "the Translator", who participated in the council of Manazkert in 725/6, wrote extensively in his own right and whose surname is self-explanatory.⁸² Even before the extensive ordering of the liturgy under the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i at the beginning of the VIIIth century, the Festal Calendar or *Tonakan* had been collected by Solomon, the learned abbot of Makenoc'.⁸³ Thus once again the VIIth and early VIIIth centuries present themselves as a period of intellectual ferment—and not of quiet acquiescence or passivity—and as the crucible in which future intellectual developments were first forged.

As was common in the mediæval period this intellectual leadership normally came from the Church and particularly from its very top, where kat'olikoi/theologians either participated personally or were the patrons of learned undertakings. Early in the VIIth century, the kat'olikos Komitas

by TERIAN, *op. cit.*, who notes that colophons to Siwnec'i's translations date them at the beginning of the VIIIth century and that he was not the only translator of the "fourth group". See also, MAHÉ (1987) and the preceding notes.

⁸⁰ HAnJB, III, p. 436 §26 and §27; THOMSON (1995), p. 156.

⁸¹ HAnJB, II, p. 299 §9; SŌ, xxvii, p. 83-86: "Սկսաւ խօսել Թէոդորոս և ասէ. «ընդէր վիճիք և տրտմեալ էք, ոչ գոյ ի նոսա թիւրութիւն ինչ վասն Հաւատոյ՝ մի եմք մեք և նոքա... ոչ է պարտ ապստամբել ի նոցանէ... այլ մեք կրտսերագոյնքս Հնազանդիմք երիցագոյն Հրամանաց նոցին՝ և լիցի մի Հօտ և մի Հովիւ»:

Այսո՛ր բանիւքս մակարդեալ ի Ժամուն զմիտս իշխանին և եպիսկոպոսացն: ... իսկ մինչ լուան ի Թէոդորոսէ զայն՝ զնացին միաբան առ թագաւորն և յանձն առին զՔաղկեդոնին, արարին պատարագ և Հաղորդեցան միմեանց," cited by Garitte in *Narratio*, p. 295-296. The anti-Chalcedonians understandably call T'ēodoros "ignorant or insufficiently learned (*kisakatar*)," see below III, n. 89, but they are hardly impartial judges. For his authorship of a *Treatise* against Mayragomec'i, also attributed to Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i, see *ibid.*, p. 329-331, and below, III, n. 79.

⁸² HAnJB, II, p. 541 §2; COWE (2004), p. 46 sq.

⁸³ VAN ESBROECK (1969); MAHÉ (1996-1997), p. 91, places this collection "entre 613 et 647," and further attributes the systematization of the Hymnal or *Šaraknoc'* to the initiative of Nersēs III, ID. (1993), p. 472-473; ID. (1996-1997), p. 91.

(611-628) was not only a builder, like his successor Nersēs III (641-661), but encouraged, and may have supervised, the compilation of doctrinal texts such as the first and more reliable portion of the *Book of Letters* (*Girk' T'it'oc'*) as well as the so-called *Seal of Faith* (*Knik' Hawatoy*).⁸⁴ This florilegium, which went beyond a mere compilation and preservation of texts, reflects the evolution of the doctrinal position of the Church at the time, as is evident from its version of the *Oratio Synodalis* of the first council of Duin in 505/506, where a condemnation of the council of Chalcedon is inserted into the text which did not contain it originally, or from the presence of treatises by authors not openly acceptable but included under the disguise of other names.⁸⁵ As was already mentioned, it was Nersēs' successor, Anastas I (661-667) who took the initiative of seeking the assistance of the learned Anania Širakac'i for his intended reform of the Armenian calendar.⁸⁶ At the beginning of the next century, the reorganiser of the Church, Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i (717-728), surnamed "the Philosopher (*Imastasēr*)", achieved the final formulation of the doctrine of the Armenian Church through the promulgation under his auspices of the first *Armenian Book of Canons* (*Kanonagirk' Hayoc'*).⁸⁷

The full extent of the development of the great Armenian historiographic tradition inaugurated at the very beginning of the VIth century by Łazar P'arpec'i cannot as yet be gauged with precision, since the actual *History* of bishop Sebēos has not come down to us.⁸⁸ However, what little we do possess from this period demonstrates that far from being extinguished during the Interregnum, to be rekindled by the historians of the tenth century, Yovhannēs Kat'olikos and T'ovma Arcruni, the historiography of the intermediary period provided the necessary link between them. Progressing beyond the focus of P'arpec'i, concerned only with the history of Armenia, the historians of the Interregnum, whose

⁸⁴ HAnJB, II, p. 644-645 §1; THOMSON (1995), p. 142, 196. For a discussion of the authorship of the *Seal of Faith*, see below, p. 75-77, 79-82. For the *Book of Letters*, see GARSOĬAN-MAHÉ (1997), p. 91, n. 31, TALLON (1955).

⁸⁵ GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 337. The problem of the interpolated and disguised texts will be discussed in the next chapter. See below, p. 75-76.

⁸⁶ See above, n. 75.

⁸⁷ HAnJB, III, p. 553-555 §73, THOMSON (1995), p. 218-219, 265-267, Id., [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. xxxiii-xxxix, *Kanonagirk'*, MARDIROSSIAN (2004).

⁸⁸ THOMSON (1995), p. 196-198, [PS]-SEB, I, p. xxxiii-xxxiv, HOWARD-JOHNSTON (2002), p. 43, ABGARYAN (1964).

works have survived, move on to place Armenia within the context of the contemporary world. This widening scope even in the work of an unknown writer, such as is the Pseudo-Sebēos, was fully noted and appreciated by Robert Thomson, the translator of his anonymous *History*: «[Pseudo-] Sebeos' theme was not a narrow one. He did not confine himself to an account of Armenian affairs in difficult times but rather reached out to cover important contemporary developments in the domestic history and mutual relations of Armenia's two great neighbours, the Persian empire, ... and the East Roman empire.»⁸⁹

A widened scope which leaves his commentator, Howard-Johnston, with "considerable respect for [Pseudo-] Sebēos as scholar and historian."⁹⁰ Reaching beyond his own time, Pseudo-Sebēos even proved to be the source for the later historian T'ovma Arcruni, whose account of the Interregnum repeatedly follows him almost verbatim.⁹¹ Despite the expected defects noted by modern analyses of his work, scholars have consequently come to the ultimate conclusion that «when he is placed within the peer-group of his predecessors and immediate successors... among the historians of Armenia, [Pseudo-] Sebeos can hold his own. ... When he comes to ... the historian's duty to combat bias, Sebeos stands out from them. ... Sebeos' contribution to our knowledge of the ending of classical antiquity is greater than that of any other single extant source.»⁹²

Less skilled and objective than his predecessor, Lewond *Vartabed* nevertheless also extended his canvas beyond the limits of Armenia to embrace the contemporary world around it.⁹³ Hence, the historians of the

⁸⁹ [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. xi.

⁹⁰ Ibid., II, p. 158.

⁹¹ Ibid., I, p. xxxv, lxi: "His history was on a grand scale, reaching out to encompass the full geographical extent of Armenia's three great neighbours."

⁹² Ibid., I, p. lxiv, lxxvii.

⁹³ This aspect was also noted by MAHÉ (1996b), p. 142: "Par voie de conséquence, son [Lewond's] horizon ne se restreint plus à la seule Arménie, comme ce fut le cas pour une première génération d'historiens arméniens." The general widening of the horizon of Armenian historians in the period of the Interregnum and their response to this necessity, was observed and stressed even earlier by MAHÉ (1993), p. 131-136: "Cette première historiographie arménienne, nationale unitaire... connaît, au VII^e siècle une période de crise et de mutation.... Toutes ces questions obligent à élargir dans le temps et dans l'espace le cadre traditionnel de l'historiographie nationale arménienne. Il n'est plus possible de se limiter à une histoire purement locale à un moment donné.... Dès lors, il ne peut plus y avoir d'historiographie nationale repliée sur elle-même. L'historien doit mettre en rapport les événements de son pays avec ceux des contrées lointaines ... ce que fait Lewond lui-même avec éclat..."

Interregnum take their appointed place in the progression from the basically parochial focus of their predecessors, to a wider point of view. In so doing, they provide the indispensable step paving the way to the great synthesis of Armenian history, dedicated to the glory of the Bagratids, composed by Movsēs Xorenac'i at the turn from the VIIIth to the IXth century.⁹⁴

In a final evaluation of the Interregnum, it can obviously not be denied that the interplay of interior and exterior forces during the VIth to the VIIIth century adduced in the preceding chapter had a deleterious effect on the welfare of Armenia during this period. The country unquestionably remained devoid of any central government and of a state of its own, although a certain degree of autonomy was occasionally granted to it by the dominant powers that surrounded it. But the absence of a state was not automatically equivalent to a period of stagnation and decline. The all important nexus of princely houses had been reconstructed and formed the fundamental constant for the survival of the nation at least to the middle of the VIIIth century, despite occasional attempts to destroy it, such as the so-called massacre of Naḫčawan.⁹⁵ Neither the intellectual nor the artistic evidence bears out the identification of the period as an inferior one or justifies the tacit contempt with which it has often been viewed. Most important of all, this was to be the time when the Church

⁹⁴ Although the date of Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History* remains controversial to this day, the majority of scholars is of the opinion that its traditional dating in the Vth century is now untenable. See THOMSON (1995), p. 156-167; MK, Introduction; and recently GARSOIAN (2003-2004), p. 29-48.

⁹⁵ LEWOND, x, p. 31-35, observes perceptively that the intention of the Muslims was to destroy the network of the great houses by the killing of the princes, thus disrupting Armenian society, (31): "Սա [al-Walid] յառաջնում ամի իշխանութեան իւրոյ խորհեցաւ բռնալ յաշխարհէս Հայոց զտոհմ նախարարաց նոցին Հեծելովք... (35) Չնոսա զամենեսեան բարձեալ ի կենաց՝ անժառանգ առնէին զաշխարհս ի նախարարաց: Յայնմ ժամանակի թափուր եղեալ աշխարհս Հայոց ի տոհմէ նախարարաց՝ մատնէին որպէս զոշխարս ի մէջ գալլոց:" However, he admits that the next governor of Armenia, Abd al-Aziz, pacified the country and persuaded those nobles who had fled to return. The actual disappearance of the same houses does not seem to have occurred much before the IXth century, with the death of the heads of the Mamikonean and Gnuni at the battle of Bagrewand in 775, and the subsequent gradual disappearance of the Kamsarakan, the Bznuni, the Xořxoruni, the Rštuni, the Saharuni, etc. This was due in part to the concentration of power in the hands of the increasingly powerful Arcruni in the south and particularly the Bagratuni, whose domain of Sper in the far north-west gave them the best protection from Arab attacks and whose silver mines allowed them to purchase the lands of the ruined Kamsarakan, see TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 197-222.

which, in the absence of a state, had emerged at the end of the Vth century as the dominant institution attracting the loyalties of all Armenians, finally achieved, as we shall next see, its ultimate definition free from interior as well as exterior threats.

CHAPTER III

THE DOGMATIC SYNTHESIS

The Armenian Church proclaimed its autocephaly almost from its very beginning and the Sasanians recognized its autonomy, though not in the secular sphere, from 485. Nevertheless, its full development was relatively slow and it cannot be said to have achieved its full dogmatic identity until the beginning of the VIIIth century.¹ During the first centuries of its existence, the Church's main struggle was primarily against the exterior pressures of the great powers on either side of Armenia, which manifested themselves in both the dogmatic and the jurisdictional realms.

The earlier threat came from the east, that is to say from Persia, both from its intrinsic, Zoroastrian aspect and from its officially recognized Church of the East, which by the beginning of the Vth century had rejected the authority of the "Western fathers" and gone on to accept the Dyophysite Christology associated with Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, eventually condemned as heretical in the mid-VIth century by the œcumenical council of the "Three Chapters". The attempt to reimpose Zoroastrianism on an already Christian Armenia seems to have been abandoned after it provoked the great rebellion of 450-451. However, the danger from the East was particularly threatening. The division of the Armenian Arsacid kingdom at the end of the IVth century had given its overwhelmingly larger portion to Persia and the invariable residence of the Armenian patriarch/kat'olikos on the Persian side of the putative border automatically made him the subject of the king of kings. The organizing council of the Persian State Church in 410 had, moreover, conceded to the Sasanian ruler the same rights as the earlier council of Nicaea (325) had acknowledged in the case of the Christian Byzantine emperor. Most important among these was that of confirming or rejecting episcopal elec-

¹ The present summary of the development of the Armenian Church to the VIIth century is drawn from my more detailed earlier work, GARSOLIAN (1999a), of which the present study is a partial continuation. No attempt has been made here to give a detailed analysis of the parallel question of the developing claim of the Armenian Church to be an apostolic foundation which was also to reach its final development in the VIIIth century with the development of the cult of Saint Thadddeus and the establishment of that of Saint Bartholomew. See below, n. 124.

tions. The Persian king availed himself of his secular jurisdiction over the Armenian Church, not only in earlier cases before the recognition of Armenian autonomy in 485, to dismiss the last direct descendant of St. Gregory the Illuminator, St. Sahak the Great (387-438), and his close successor, the kat'olikos Giwt (461-478), but even at the end of the Sasanian period, and this time benevolently, to bring about the election of the kat'olikos Abraham I in 607, through the intervention of Xusrō II's favourite, prince Smbat Bagratuni. This Sasanian interference did end a three year vacancy in the Armenian kat'olikat, but it simultaneously ensured the official break between the Armenian Church and Constantinople. Despite this acknowledged and accepted secular jurisdiction of the Sasanian crown over the Armenian Church, the proselytizing activity of the Dyophysite "Nestorian" party in the Persian Church of the East, headed by Barsauma, metropolitan bishop of Nisibis, as well as the absence of some of the bishops from southern border districts, who seem to have tacitly shared the views of their Persian colleagues, had alarmed the Armenian Church by the middle of the VIth century. The "evil Nestorians" were formally anathematized by it in 555 at the second council of Duin in the presence of, and presumably with the permission of, the resident Persian governor or *marzpan*. Any trace of a Dyophysite Christology was thereby removed forever from the doctrine of the Armenian Church.

The break with the Imperial Byzantine Church took longer and was considerably more complicated. Along with the other Churches of Caucasia, Armenia had accepted the decree of doctrinal union, the *Henoticon*, probably at a council held at Vałaršapat in 491.² The *Oratio Synodalis* of the first council of Duin in 505-506 affirmed repeatedly: "This is the faith that the Romans and we the Armenians and the Iberians and the Ałuank' (Caucasian Albanians) profess."³ As late as 572, the Armenian kat'olikos Yovhannēs II Gabelean, living as a refugee in Constantinople after the failure of the rising of the Armenians against Persia under Vardan II Mamikonean, accepted to take communion with the Orthodox patriarch of the capital. He may have done this unwillingly and the Jacobite sources do their best to clear his memory of any suggestion of compromise, while the contemporary Armenian sources maintain a discreet

² GARSOĬAN (2004).

³ GT'-II, p. 153: "Չայս Հաւատ Հոռոմէք և մեք Հայք և Վիրք և Աղուանք ունիմք."; cf. GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 444.

silence.⁴ Whatever the concessions that the kat'olikos had made in the Byzantine capital, however, they were unacceptable in the opinion of his colleagues back in Armenia, who were already much more intransigent and saw in the symbol "in two natures" of Chalcedon far too much similarity to the Dyophysite Christology of the Persian Church they had just condemned. The existence of two parties within the Armenian Church by the late VIth century was already noted by John of Ephesus and it is spelled out in the later *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian,

When the thing [the joint communion] was learned in their country, the bishops sent threats to the kat'olikos and to those who had accompanied him, "If you communicate with the [partisans] of the synod and if you adhere to them, that is to say to the synod of Chalcedon, we will no longer receive you, what is more we anathematize you."⁵

This split between two parties within the Armenian Church had also been observed from the Chalcedonian side by the much earlier *Narratio*, according to which at the time of the return of their colleagues from Constantinople some "willingly accepted the union while others fell into fornication (i.e., heresy)".⁶

The rift turned into open schism when the kat'olikos Movsēs II, safe beyond the Persian border, contemptuously rejected the summons of the emperor Maurice to a council of union and the emperor retaliated by installing a pro-Chalcedonian anti-patriarch on his side of the border. The twenty year schism within the Armenian Church came to an end only with Maurice's death and the election under Persian auspices of the new kat'olikos Abraham I in 607. But even before the Sasanian armies captured Theodosioupolis, in which the anti-patriarch had taken refuge and deported him to Persia where he died, the western Armenian bishops, who had come under the jurisdiction of the imperial Church through the eastward shift of the frontier in 591, had returned to their former obedi-

⁴ EAD. (1999a), p. 244-256.

⁵ The Armenian versions of Michael's *Chronicle* do not differ substantially from the Syriac although they insist that the kat'olikos died before the reception of the threatening letter. See GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 251-256, and the next note.

⁶ *Narratio*, §84, p. 37: "Υποστρεψάντων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν, οἱ μὲν προθύμως ἐδέξαντο τὴν ἑνωσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπονηρεύσαντο ...". The simultaneous presence of the two parties in the Armenia of the VIIth century and the resultant oscillation in the policies of the kat'olikoi of the period were noted by GARSOÏAN-MAHÉ (1997), p. 63: "L'important est de constater la coexistence jusqu'à la fin du [VII^e] siècle, de positions extrêmement contrastées dans le clergé aussi bien que chez les princes."

ence, albeit slowly, with only five bishops and some senior ecclesiastics signing the required confession of faith condemning the council of Chalcedon in the presence of Abraham I.⁷ Benefitting from its Persian patronage, the Armenian Church then formally went on to anathematize the council of Chalcedon *de jure* thereby completing its breach with Constantinople. Thus, by the beginning of the VIIth century, its emancipation from both the external pressures to which it had been subjected hitherto could be considered accomplished. The damaged prestige of the Armenian kat'olikos also began to revive as the Churches of Albania and Siwnik', though not Iberia, once more conceded the ecclesiastical precedence of the Armenians.⁸ All problems, however, were by no means solved. Byzantium under the Heraclian dynasty continued its efforts to achieve a religious as well as a political union for the entire length of the century. This was to prove problematic for the Armenian Church, and serious interior difficulties still remained to be overcome.

Unable to reconcile themselves with the Armenian rejection of the union with Constantinople sought by Maurice, the Heraclian emperors continued to exert pressure on the Armenians whenever possible and repeatedly sought their compliance through increasingly drastic external means. Making the most of his ultimate victory over Persia in 628, and

⁷ GT'-II, p. 298-299: "Թէոդորոս սեպհական գնդին եպիսկոպոս, Ստեփանոս Բագրատանդայ եպիսկոպոս, Մովսէս Կողիտոնեաց եպիսկոպոս, Քրիստափոր Ապառնեաց եպիսկոպոս, Ներսէս Վանանդայ եպիսկոպոս Հանդերդ Վանից երիցածքս այսոքիւք ... եկեալ յանդիման մեր զբարեպաշտութիւն խոստովանեցին, նզովելով... զչար ժողովն Քաղկեդոնի, և զպիղծ տուժարն Լիոնի: Եւ աղաչանս ծառայանելով առաջի մեր, խառնել զինքեանս ի միաբանութիւն եկեղեցւոյ ճշմարիտ Հաւտին Քրիստոսի." = GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 514-515. The Chalcedonian *Narratio* §114, p. 42, confirms the return in 607 of the Armenian bishops from the Byzantine territories west of the frontier of 591 to communion with their eastern colleagues although it understandably presents this as the result of the compulsion exercised by Abraham I: "Τότε οὖν ἠνάγκασεν ὁ αἵρετικὸς Ἀβραάμ ὁ καθολικὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῶν μερῶν Ἰωάννου ἢ ἀναθεματίσαι τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον, ἢ ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῶν μερῶν Ἀρμενίας." = MAHÉ (1994-1995), p. 436. It is interesting that even in 591, the lines of political and ecclesiastical jurisdiction did not coincide altogether. The bishops of the territories newly acquired by Byzantium as a result of the moving of the frontier to the east, and therefore now under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, obediently presented themselves to the council of union summoned by Maurice, but they must have recognized to some extent the authority of the dissident kat'olikos Movsēs II, since they also sought his approval of their concessions, even though he would not receive them according to the *Narratio*, p. 41 §106: "Ὑποστρέψαντες δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ οὐκ ἐδέχθησαν παρὰ τοῦ Μωσῆ ..."

⁸ GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 359-374.

the prestige derived from his return of the True Cross to Jerusalem,⁹ Heraclius convoked a council of union at Theodosiupolis in 632 to which he summoned Abraham I's successor, the kat'olikos Ezr (630-641). The pro-Chalcedonian *Narratio* asserts that the Armenians were persuaded to return to their union with the Imperial church at this point:

In the 4th year after the death of Xosro and in the 23rd year of the reign of Herakleios, and his coming to Greater Armenia, he called for a great synod to be held in Theodosiupolis of all the bishops and doctors together with the katholikos Esdras and all the *azats* [nobles] to make an investigation and enquire unto the two natures of Christ our God and concerning the council of Chalcedon.

They investigated for thirty days and the Armenians were persuaded according to the Scriptures and swore in writing in their own hand never to return to this matter.

But when they returned to Duin, the same Yovhan incited ... some others who had not gone to the synod, not to communicate with the katholikos Esdras nor with those who were of his opinion.¹⁰

Abandoning his usual objectivity, Pseudo-Sebēos, presenting the opposite point of view, asserts that the unconvinced Armenians had resisted until Ezr was threatened with a renewal of the schism and that he had been bribed to comply:

Then the Greek general Mzhēzh Gnuni ... told the Catholicos Ezr to go to him in the territory of the Greek borders, and to communicate with the emperor. "Otherwise, we shall make for ourselves another Catholicos and do you hold your authority on the Persian side. Since the Catholicos was unable to leave the territory of his jurisdiction, he requested a statement of

⁹ See above p. 29, and MAHÉ (1993), p. 468-469, and n. 92-93.

¹⁰ Ibid., §121-123, p. 43: "Καὶ ἐν τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς τελευτῆς Χοσρόου καὶ τῷ κγ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου, ἐλθὼν ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἐκέλευσε σύνοδον γενέσθαι μεγάλην ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ διδασκάλων σὺν τῷ καθολικῷ Ἑσδρα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀζάτοις ἐν Θεοδοσιουπόλει, ἔρευναν ποιῆσαι καὶ ἰδεῖν περὶ τῶν δύο φύσεων τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς συνόδου Χαλκηδόνης. (122) Ἡρεύνησαν οὖν διὰ τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν, καὶ ἐπείσθησαν οἱ Ἀρμένιοι ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν καὶ ὥμοσαν ἐγγράφως ἰδιοχείρως μηκέτι ἀντειπεῖν περὶ τούτου. (123) Ὑποστρέψαντες δὲ εἰς τὸ Τιβίν, ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰωάννης παρώτρυνε ... καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τοὺς μὴ ἀπαντήσαντας εἰς τὴν σύνοδον, ἵνα μὴ κοινωνήσωσιν Ἑσδρα τῷ καθολικῷ μηδὲ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ ὁμοφρονήσασιν." Heraclius' convocation of a council of union with Ezr at Karin/Theodosiupolis is also recorded in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, which however gives the incorrect date in the 17th year of Heraclius rather than in 632, ANON., p. 76: "Սա [Երակիոս] յևթն և ի տասն ամին արար ժողով ի Թեոդոսուպոլիս, որ այժմ ասի Կարնոյ քաղաք, բազում եպիսկոպոսաց, առ Եզրիւ կաթողիկոսի Հայոց, և Հռոմոց, և Ասորոց. յորում Հայք Քաղկեդոնիկք եղեն, և զժողովն ընդալան:"

faith from the king. Immediately a document was sent to him written in the king's hand, anathematizing Nestorius and all heretics, but it did not anathematize the council of Chalcedon. The Catholicos went to the land of Asorestan, visited the king and communicated with him. He asked the king for the salt [mines] of Kolb as a gift and receiving this gift, he returned home with great ceremony. Thereafter, he resided in the Greek camp until the general satisfied his wishes and established detachments of soldiers and the distribution of stores over the whole land."¹¹

There is no reason to believe necessarily that Ezr had been bribed on this occasion. In the unstable religious situation of VIIth century Armenia, to which we shall return, Ezr belonged to the moderate and conciliatory rather than to the more intransigent wing of the Church, as would his successor, Nersēs III, who also deemed it wiser to retreat for a time to his north-western home district of Tayk' because his pro-Chalcedonian views were not acceptable to some of his contemporaries in central Armenia itself.¹² Moreover, the emperor may also have been willing to settle for a compromise position despite the insistence of Sidorov that Ezr had accepted the full Chalcedonian symbol. Mahé rightly notes that such an absolute stand does not seem likely at the very time that Heraclius himself was searching for an acceptable compromise formula, be it Monoenergy or Monothelitism, which would bring about the Ekthesis of 638, and as we have seen there is considerable evidence for the reverence in which his memory was held in Armenia.¹³ For his part, Pseudo-Sebēos

¹¹ [PS]-SEB, xli, p.131-132: "Եկն ապա զաւրաւարն Յունաց Մժէժ Գնունին ի Հայաստան երկրէն ... Ասէ ցկաթուղիկոսն ցեղր՝ երթալ նմա յերկիր սաՀմանացն Յունաց և Հաղորդել արինաւք ընդ կայսեր. ապա թէ ոչ՝ արասցուք մեզ այլ կաթուղիկոս. և դու կա՛լ զիշխանութիւնդ քոյ ի Պարսից կողմանէ: Իսկ կաթուղիկոսն իբրև ոչ կարաց թողուլ զերկիր իշխանութեան իւրոյ՝ խնդրեաց ձեռնարկ Հաւատոյ ի թագաւորէն: Եւ վաղվաղակի առաքեցաւ նմա տունար գրեալ ձեռամբ թագաւորին, և նզովեալ զՆեստոր և զամենայն Հերձուածողս, բայց ոչ էր նզովեալ զԺողովն Քաղկեդոնի: Եւ զնաց կաթուղիկոսն յերկիրն Ասորեստանի, ետես զթագաւորն և Հաղորդեցաւ ընդ նմա արինաւք: Եւ խնդրեալ ի թագաւորէն պարգևաւ զաղն Կողբայ, և առեալ զպարգևն՝ դարձաւ մեծաւ շքով ի տուն իւր: Եւ ապա յայնմՀետէ նստէր ի մէջ բանակին Յունաց, մինչև զաւրաւարին Հաճոյանալ ըստ կամաց նորա կարգէր զկարգս զինուորացն և բաշխումն շտեմարանաց ի վերայ ամենայն երկրին:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 91-92.

¹² Ibid., lii, p. 174-175 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 151. For the case of Nersēs III (641-661), see below p. 61-62, and n. 16 for the relevant text. On the alternating positions of the kat'olikoi of this period, see GARSOÏAN-MAHÉ (1997), p. 59.

¹³ Ibid., (1997), p. 62-63; MAHÉ (1993), 469-471, GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 386-390, DAGRON (1993), p. 40-43, 46-49, SIDOROV (1988). The *Anonymous Chronicle* says that the Armenians accepted the council of Chalcedon (see above, n. 10), but its terminology is neither accurate nor precise. In GREENWOOD's opinion (2008), p. 252-254, a monoenergist or

judiciously avoids any indication of the precise content of the Profession of Faith sent by Heraclius to Ezr, except for the omission of an outright condemnation of Chalcedon.¹⁴ Insofar as we can tell from the contradictions in the sources, the atmosphere surrounding the council and Ezr himself seems to have been conciliatory, as had been the case at Constantinople in 572, as against a more entrenched opposition party at home. At best, a partial solution going back to the *status quo ante* the categoric condemnation of Chalcedon by the Armenian Church in 607 may have been reached, and with it a reassertion of the imperial doctrinal authority.

Half measures were seemingly no longer acceptable to Constantinople in the next generation, when Constans II, going one step further, came in person to Duin in 653 and installed himself in the patriarchal palace. The promulgation of the imperial *Type* in 648 had put an end to earlier experiments with compromise doctrinal formulae,¹⁵ and the emperor made the most of the pro-Chalcedonian tendencies of the kat'olikos Nersēs III to force an unequivocal submission on the Armenian episcopate. An outraged Pseudo-Sebēos now left no doubt as to the complete compliance demanded by the emperor:

[Nersēs] was by origin from Tayk' ... He was raised from his youth in the territory of the Greeks, had studied the language and literature of the Romans ... He firmly agreed with the council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo. But he revealed his impious thoughts to no one ... He kept the bitter poison hidden in his heart and he planned to convert Armenia to the council of Chalcedon. Yet he did not dare reveal his intention until king Constans came and stayed in the residence of the Catholicos, and the council of Chalcedon was proclaimed in the church of St. Gregory on a Sunday. The liturgy was celebrated in Greek by a Roman priest, and the king, the Catholicos and all the bishops took communion, some willingly, some

monothelite compromise was still acceptable to the more conciliatory party within the Armenian Church and "was taken up with enthusiasm by many prominent Armenian clerics and continued to appeal to a significant proportion of the Armenian elite", who were finally driven into opposition by Justinian II's attempt to impose the ultimate condemnation of monothelitism by the Constantinopolitan council of 680.

¹⁴ The entire question of the council of Theodosiopolis remains moot. Its canons published in *Kanonagirk'* II, p. 244-257, have been rejected as incoherent forgeries. The sources which flesh out the account of Pseudo-Sebēos and the *Narratio* are very late, and we shall return to the version given by Yovhannēs Kat'olikos, that Ezr, because of his ignorance, had been beguiled by the Greeks in the absence of his more learned theologian, Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i. See below, p. 82-83.

¹⁵ DAGRON (1993), p. 43.

unwillingly. In this way the Catholicos perverted the true faith of St. Gregory, which all the Catholicoi had preserved on a solid foundation in the holy church from St. Gregory down to today. He muddled the pure and clear and crystalline waters of the springs ... He betrayed one by one the bishops and demoralized them through fear, so that from the terror of death they all carried the orders to communicate.¹⁶

Only the return of the emperor to the capital, whither Nersēs III accompanied him before retiring to Tayk', according to a second account of Pseudo-Sebēos,¹⁷ and the return of the Arabs prevented the maintenance of the forcible union.

The final attempt of Byzantium to achieve a union of the Churches was to come under Justinian II at the very end of the century. The account of the pro-Chalcedonian *Narratio* understandably asserts that the kat'olikos Sahak III, summoned by the emperor to Constantinople, accepted the symbol of Chalcedon on the two natures of Christ and only the bishops who had remained in Armenia rejected the accord, as had been the case in 572.¹⁸ The later Armenian historian Asoĭik claims in opposition that the union had been forced by the emperor at his coming to Armenia and says nothing about an imperial summons to Constantinople of the kat'olikos together with some of his bishops, thereby tacitly implying that the split between moderates and intransigents in Armenia,

¹⁶ [PS]-SEB, xlix, p. 166-167: "էր նա [Ներսէս] բնակութեամբ ի Տայոց. ... Եւ սնեալ ի մանկութենէ յաշխարհին Յունաց և ուսեալ զլեզուս և զրարութիւն Հոռոմին, ... և Հաստատեալ զմիտ իւր ի վերայ Ժողովոյն Քաղկեդոնի և ի վերայ տումարին Լետնի: Եւ ոչ ումէք ի վեր Հանէր զխորհուրդս ամբարշտութեանն, ... Բայց ի սրտի իւրում ծածկեալ ունէր զթիւնս դառնութեան, և խորհէր Հաւանեցուցանել զՀայս Քաղկեդոնի Ժողովոյն, բայց ի վեր Հանել զբանն ոչ Համարձակէր: Մինչև եկն արքայ Կոստանդին և նստաւ ի տան կաթողիկոսին, և քարոզեցաւ յեկեղեցւոյն սրբոյն Գրիգորի Ժողովն Քաղկեդոնի յաւուր կիւրակէի: Եւ մատեաւ պատարագ Հոռոմերէն ի Հոռոմ երիցուէ, և Հաղորդեցաւ թագաւորն և կաթողիկոսն և ամէն եպիսկոպոսունքն, ո՛ր կամաւ և որ ակամայ: Եւ այսպէս շարժեաց կաթողիկոսն զճշմարիտ Հաւատս սրբոյն Գրիգորի, զոր կալեալ էր ամենայն կաթողիկոսացն Հաստատուն Հիմնադրութեամբ ի սրբոյ յեկեղեցւոյն ի սրբոյն Գրիգորէ մինչև ցայսաւր: Եւ զսուրբ և զվճիտ և զականակիտ աղբերացն պղտորեաց զջուրս: ... Եւ ապա... մատնէր զմի մի յեպիսկոպոսացն, և բեկանէր ահիւ: Մինչ զի առ մահուն երկիւղիւ ամենեքեան զՀրամանսն Հաղորդութեանն կատարէին." = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 140. Cf. GARSOĬAN (1999), p. 392-394. The later historian, Yovhannēs Kat'olikos, who also lived in a period of détente with the Byzantine empire, gives a less negative account of Nersēs' pontificate, YK, xix, p. 106-113 = YK-M, p. 102-104.

¹⁷ [PS]-SEB, lii, p. 174-175: "Իսկ կաթողիկոսն Հայոց Ներսէս զնաց ընդ թագաւորին, ... և չուեաց ընդ նմա ի Կոստանդնուպօլիս: ... և եկն դադարեաց ի Տայս..." = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 151.

¹⁸ See above, p. 56, and n. 4.

claimed in the version of the *Narratio*, no longer existed and the opposition to the Chalcedonian Christology was nearly unanimous, as was the case in his own time.¹⁹

The failure of Justinian II's attempt to achieve a lasting union with the Armenians proved to mark a radical turning point, as was observed by Mahé. Whatever the authenticity of Lewond's account with its obvious hagiographic overtones, of the posthumous embassy of Sahak III to Muhammad ibn Merwan in 703, and of Muhammad's grant of the dead patriarch's request that he not oppress the Armenians if they in their turn tendered their submission, it leaves no doubt that the Armenian Church was turning away from Byzantium to find a *modus vivendi* with the Arabs.²⁰

Nevertheless, if the overt external Byzantine pressure was removed by the end of the VIIth century, not all the internal partisans of the Chalcedonian doctrine had disappeared overnight. The clearest index of their presence in Armenia is the composition of the clearly pro-Chalcedonian *Narratio* whose translation into Greek was published by Garitte in his masterly edition and commentary on this document, as well as the existence of a number of later minor texts of similar Chalcedonian character linked to it by him.²¹ If, as Garitte concludes, the date 700 is to be attrib-

¹⁹ *Narratio*, §144-147, p. 46-47; ASOLIK, II.ii, p. 100-101; cf. GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 394-396.

²⁰ LEWOND, ix, p. 29-30, repeated in YK, xxi, p. 121-124 = YK-M, p. 107-108; MAHÉ (1993), p. 477-478: "Cet accord marque un tournant décisif dans l'histoire de l'Église arménienne. Désormais l'autorité arabe s'assortit d'une reconnaissance réciproque du calife et du catholicos. En devenant le garant officiel de la bonne foi de sa nation et en sollicitant le maintien des positions traditionnelles de son Église, le patriarche excluait du même coup toute forme de rapprochement avec les Grecs, ... Du point de vue des sources, le tournant est également net: il n'y a plus trace désormais d'une historiographie arménienne dyophysite." The same favourable view of Armeno-Arab relations is given in the account by the kat'olikos Yovhannēs the Historian, mentioned above, see II, n. 34, of the honour extended by the caliph to the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjneg'i, YK, xxii, p. 130-131 = YK-M, p. 111.

²¹ *Narratio*, p. 382-400, especially, p. 398-399: "Il est évident que la *Narratio* a été composée aux environs de l'an 700 ... La date établie plus haut ne vaut, naturellement, que pour le texte original et non pour la version grecque qui nous est parvenue."

In her recent Russian translation of this document, Arutyunova-Fidanian argues that the Chalcedonian community in Armenia used Greek as a language and that the text which has come down to us is the original and not a translation, ARUTYUNOVA-FIDANIAN (2004), p. 19-36, English summary, p. 140-146. The numerous Armenisms detected by Garitte, however, still support his thesis that our document is a translation rather than the original text, *Narratio*, p. 359-368, *ibid.*, p. 370-382, for the related texts.

uted to the original text of the *Narratio* and not to the subsequent Greek translation, a pro-Chalcedonian party must have been present in Armenia in the VIIth century, if not much later.²² This Chalcedonian presence has recently received considerable attention in the works of V. Arutiunova-Fidanyan, though she may at times have overestimated its importance.²³ However, the presence of Armenian Chalcedonians is also corroborated by the two additional small treatises, that were preserved among the manuscripts from Mount Sinai and have likewise been published by Garitte, one of which deals with the Armenian refusal to mix water with the wine of the Eucharist,²⁴ and by the possible presence of Chalcedonian eparchies in the western portion of the Armenian plateau, in Karin, Derjan, Daranaġik' and Ekeġeac'.²⁵

Finally, A.B. Eremyan has proposed the thesis that Armenian churches with three windows in the main apse were those of Armenian-Chalcedonians and that other monuments, in particular the famous church dedicated to St. Hrip'simē at Valaršapat, had to be altered between 632 and 700 by the closing of two of these windows to conform with the ultimate doctrinal rejection of the Chalcedonian symbol by the Armenian Church.²⁶

²² See the preceding note and GARSOĬAN (1998c), p. 103-109, for the survival of Armenian-Chalcedonians or *Cat's* in later centuries as well as the relevant bibliography.

²³ ARUTYUNOVA-FIDANIAN (1980), (1988-1989), p. 345-363, EAD. (2004), etc. In view of Garitte's numerous identifications of underlying Armenisms in the Greek text noted above, and the absence of other significant corroborative evidence it, however, does not seem likely that the *Narratio* was in its original form, the product of a primarily Hellenophone community. Nevertheless, such a conclusion as to the original language of the *Narratio* in no way implies by itself the absence or importance of Chalcedonian Armenians in this period.

²⁴ GARITTE (1959), and ID. (1960b).

²⁵ ADONTZ (1970a), p. 284, ARUTYUNOVA-FIDANIAN (2004), p. 58, who accepts Adontz's deductions from episcopal lists as fact.

²⁶ EREMYAN (1971), p. 251-266: "le résultat des études [sur l'église de Ste. Hrip'simē] nous amène à la conclusion qu'à l'origine l'abside principale de l'église comportait une seule fenêtre, plus tard deux fenêtres supplémentaires ont été percées dans les niches de la façade est ... (255) nous croyons que l'éclairage de l'autel par une seule baie a été caractéristique de l'Église monophysite. ... (259) Les faits mentionnés nous semblent suffisamment convaincants pour affirmer que les monuments sur le territoire arménien avec trois baies dans l'abside principale ont été les églises des arméniens chalcédoniens, et que l'ouverture de trois fenêtres dans l'abside principale de Hripsimé fut dictée par la nécessité de transformer cette célèbre église arménienne en église chalcédonienne," p. 259. The addition of two additional windows in the main apse cannot be explained functionally as needed to bring more light on the altar, since they were blocked by the immediate projection of the two secondary apses. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 251, pls. LI #2 and LII #2.

This thesis, though by no means unanimously accepted, has been reconsidered recently by Donabédian who notes that the threefold fenestration in the main apse also occurs in a number of other VIIth century churches, specifically at Mren, Agarak, St. Sergius of Artik, the cathedrals of Aṛuč and T'alín, as well as Sisian and a few early Georgian churches, though surprisingly not in the church of St. Gayanē. He then goes on to follow Eremyan's argument that this phenomenon may be the reflection of a dogmatic position other than the official doctrine of the Armenian Church in this period and possibly of that of the founders of these monuments.²⁷ It is interesting to observe in connexion with this hypothesis that the earlier church at Zovuni, the contemporary one at Gaṛnahovit, the later basilica at Ōjun, the church of the Mother of God at Arcuaber, Pemzašēn and a number of the smaller chapel-like monuments have only a single window in the main apse.²⁸ In such a case, the presence of a triple fen-

Also in personal conversation with the author in November 1979. Eremyan's thesis has been opposed by MATHEWS (1994), who denies any reworking of the east façade of St. Hrip'simē before the XVIIth century restoration, however, J.-P. Mahé in his review of Mathews' article (REArm, 26, 1996-1997, p. 465) notes that traces of two windows can still be seen on the east façade. A study of the building materials and techniques is still necessary before reaching a conclusive dating of the alterations and restorations of the east façade of the church. See also the next notes.

²⁷ DONABEDIAN (2008), p. 93-94: "ce phénomène, bien que relativement circonscrit, revêt probablement une signification particulière au VII^e siècle puisqu'il est appliqué à certains des plus grands monuments de l'époque et disparaît presque entièrement ultérieurement.

On s'accorde à voir dans ce trait jusque-là inconnu en Arménie ... la tradition du symbolisme trinitaire, à la différence du dispositif traditionnel en Arménie d'une seule fenêtre dans le chœur ... qui semble exprimer au contraire la doctrine christologique de l'Église arménienne." In his opinion, the link between the founders: the kat'olikoi Ezr and Nersēs III, the Mamikonean and Kamsarakan, as well as Dawit' Saharuni and the Orthodox, Byzantine authorities may possibly have had a bearing on their doctrinal position. Ibid., fig. 163 (Mren), figs. 275, 277 (Agarak), figs. 290, 293 (Artik), figs. 205, 207-208 (Aṛuč), figs. 189, 192; THIERRY (s.d., Zodiaque), col. pls. 47-48 (T'alín cathedral); DONABEDIAN (2008), fig. 321 (Sisian), the doctrinal views of whose founder, prince Kohazat of Siwnik' are not known to us. Ibid., figs., 340-341 (Djvari) in Georgia. This hypothesis is further supported by the dating of the foundation inscriptions that have survived for Aṛuč, Mren and other churches associated with the Mamikonean and Kamsarakan according to the regnal year of the Byzantine emperors, Heraclius or Constans II. See above, II, nn. 56, 58.

²⁸ DONABEDIAN (2008), figs. 112-114 (Zovuni), fig. 313 (Gaṛnahovit), figs. 170, 172 (Ōjun), figs. 310-311 (Arcuaber), fig. 250 (Pemzašēn), figs. 214-215 (Ddmašēn), figs. 220, 222 (Aštarak), fig. 228 (Šenik), figs. 232, 234 (Lmbat), figs. 244-247 (Alaman), fig. 250 (The Mother of God at T'alín), etc. However, a systematic survey of the location and family affiliations of the churches respectively displaying single or triple fenestration

estration in the main apse may perhaps support the other evidence as an index of the spread and degree of Chalcedonian elements in this period.²⁹

The partisans of Chalcedon were not the only dissident element presenting problems to the Armenian Church during the VIIth century. Without going into the details of their still disputed doctrine, which do not concern us here, suffice it to say that the Paulician heresy born in Armenia, where its communities were already condemned in 555 at the second council of Duin,³⁰ began to manifest itself in the eastern border provinces of the Byzantine empire during the reign of "the grandson of Heraclius", that is Constans II, in the middle of this century.³¹ Most of the subsequent history of this sect took place in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine empire and further west beyond the borders of the Armenian plateau,³² but some of the heretics must have remained in Armenia, where their categoric opposition to all ecclesiastical institutions and hierarchy, in favour of their own leaders, their rejection of the sacraments as polluted and unavailing and their fierce iconoclasm automatically brought them into opposition to the Armenian Church. The early VIIth century *Treatise against Iconoclasts* presumed to be by Vrt'anēs K'ertol may well have been directed against these sectarians, although A. Schmidt has recently attributed this work to Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i, of whom a *Letter on Iconoclasm* is quoted in the *History of Movsēs Dasyuranc'i*, or

in the main apse and of the particulars of the reconstruction of the east façade of St. Hrip'simē, must of necessity precede any final conclusion on this point.

²⁹ It has also been suggested that the presence of occasional mosaic decoration or frescoes in VIIth century churches, "relèverait de milieux hellénophiles chalcédoniens," but that no conclusion is as yet possible given our present state of information, DOURNOVO (1957), p. 8-9, DONABEDIAN (2008), p. 223.

Despite all these indices for the indubitable presence of a Chalcedonian party in VIIth century Armenia, its importance should probably not be overestimated, since no treatise by the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjneg'i is known to have been directed against it as against the Paulicians and the Phantasiasts, for whom see below, p. 66, 68-92. Isolated from Constantinople by the Arab thrust into eastern Anatolia its presence in Armenia does not seem, with the passage of time, to have been the major source of concern for its Church. However, see GREENWOOD (2008), p. 251 sq., on the basis of the information in the *Anonymous Chronicle* that "contact between the Imperial and Armenian Churches was maintained long after the traditional date of caesura." The entire VIIth century was a period "of contemporary contact and confessional confrontation".

³⁰ GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 476-477.

³¹ "ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Κωνσταντίου τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ ἐγγονοῦ Ἡρακλείου". See GARSOĬAN (1967), p. 117, and n. 13.

³² Ibid., p. 149-150.

to one of his disciples and consequently dated it in the late VIIth century.³³ In any case, they were still sufficiently important in Armenia to be singled out in the 32nd canon of the council of 719 and in a special *Treatise against the Paulicians* by the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i,³⁴ a condemnation which did not, however, put an end to the existence of the sect.³⁵

The VIIth century in general was a tumultuous time for the Church. To be sure, we have no evidence that the Caliphate interfered directly in the Armenian patriarchal elections under the Umayyads and even the Abbasids, as had their Sasanian predecessors, beyond the collection of a special tax at each new accession.³⁶ Nevertheless, the Church was understandably affected by the shifting allegiance of the princes between Byzantium and the last Sasanians and subsequently the Arabs, as well as by their own rivalries. In particular, the holders of the patriarchal throne reflected the oscillation of the princes and reached its maximum in 630 when Varaztiroc' Bagratuni obtained the condemnation by a synod summoned for that purpose, of the kat'olikos K'ristap'or II, who had been chosen by T'eodoros Rštuni to succeed Komitas, and his replacement by Ezer.³⁷ Even so, political interference was not the most fundamental prob-

³³ MK-D, II.xlvi, p. 266-269 = MD, p. 171-173; SCHMIDT (1997). On the problems associated with the *Treatise* of Vrt'anēs K'ertol and the problem of Armenian Iconoclasm, see most recently the study of MATHEWS (2008-2009), with the earlier bibliography.

³⁴ YŌ, p. 74/5-76/7, Canon xxxii: "Ոչ է պարտ ի չարադանդ մծղնէիցն տեղիս, որ կոչին Պոլիկեանք, ալթել ումեք, և կամ՝ յարել և խաւսակից լինել և երթեւեկութիւն առնել: Այլ ամենեւին Հեռանալ ի նոցանէ, զարչել և ատել զնոսա. զի որդիք սատանայի են և լուցկիք յաւիտենական Հրոյն, ... եթէ ոք իցէ՝ որ յարեսցի ի նոսա... ծանր պատուհաս ի վերայ ածել..." = *Kanonagirk'* I, p. 534-535; YŌ, p. 78/9-106/107, for the separate *Treatise against the Paulicians*.

³⁵ On the history of the sect and its possible survival to modern times, see GARSOIAN (1967), p. 112-150.

³⁶ MAHÉ (1997), p. 83-84.

³⁷ [PS]-SEB, xI, p. 129 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 87. It interesting to note that whereas Pseudo-Sebeōs says that K'ristap'or was "a proud and haughty man whose tongue was like a sharp sword [այր Հպարտ և ամբարտաւան, որոյ լեզու իւր էր իբրև զսուր սուտեր," and that he was expelled in dishonour [անարգանաւք]," the later Yovhannēs Kat'olikos, YK, xvii, p. 97-98 = YK-M, p. 98, says that "slandorous vilifiers from his own house rose against him and fabricated indecent reports. Subsequently they passed the verdict to discharge him from his office not according to any laws of the upright but spontaneously at their own discretion. Willingly escaping from evil, he went away and built a hermitage ... and with his virtuous deeds and laborious toils distinguished himself in strict fasting and observance of prayers and nightly vigils" [ապա և յրնտանեաց տանն քիղք չարաբանք ի վերայ յարուցեալ նորա՝ բամբասանս ապիրատս յօդէին. և ապա այնուհետեւ ոչ ըստ իրաւանց

lem facing the Church. More immediate and urgent was the necessity to reach a definition of its own specific doctrinal position now that the external dogmatic pressures of Persia and Byzantium had been removed. The earlier focus was, as we have seen, on the opposition to a Dyophysite Christology, be it the "Nestorian" one associated with Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Church of the East or by extension the definition of the council of Chalcedon, but it had left unsolved the critical problem of the opposite Monophysite position.³⁸

The first manifestation in Armenia of extremist Monophysitism goes back to the preliminaries of the second council of Duin in the middle of the VIth century. Until that time, as far as we can tell from the sources at our disposal, the Armenian Church had accepted without further ado the decisions of the first council of Ephesus (431) and with them the definition of St. Cyril of Alexandria: "One is the nature of the Incarnate Logos".³⁹ With the VIth century, however, came the split in the Monophysite movement between the partisans of Severus, who became patriarch of Antioch in 512, for whom the nature of Christ during His sojourn on earth was "corruptible" and did not regain its "incorruptibility" until the Resurrection⁴⁰, and those of his contemporary, bishop Julian of Halicarnassus, for whom the union of the human nature of Christ with the divine Logos differentiated the former from that of ordinary mortals. Consequently for him, the nature of Christ from the Incarnation to the Resurrection remained wholly "incorruptible";⁴¹ a position which his opponents took to be a negation of the reality of the Incarnation. "Corruptibility" (*apakanut'iwn*) and "Incorruptibility" (*anapakanut'iwn*) thus became the touchstones in the quarrel between the two parties.

The first clear echo in Armenia of the quarrel and of the Julianist position appears in the 552 *Letter of the Orthodox Syrians to the Armenians* preserved in the official correspondence of the *Book of Letters*. Addressed

ուղղոց ինչ, այլ կամակար մտօք ըստ կամս անձանց Հաստատէին վճիռ՝ անկանել նմա ի պատուոյն: Իսկ նորա իւրովի կամաւ խոյս ի չարէն տուեալ, երթեալ չինէ միայնարան... առաքինաջան երկօք և բազմաշխատ քրտամբք, փայլէր պաճոց պնդակազմութեամբ և աղօթից պաշտպանութեամբ և ամենագիշեր տքնութեամբ.] Lewond prudently says nothing on this subject.

³⁸ See COWE (2004), for a more detailed study of the doctrinal distinctions and evolution.

³⁹ "Μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη". See above, n. 3, for the Armenian acceptance of the Imperial doctrine.

⁴⁰ LEBON (1909) and COWE (2004), p. 37.

⁴¹ DRAGUET (1924). See also MEYENDORFF (1992) and COWE (2004).

to the kat'olikos Nersēs II, to his co-president, Meršapuh bishop of Tarōn and of the Mamikoneans and to the rest of the Armenian episcopate, this letter which requested the episcopal ordination of Abdišoy a priest of the monastery of Sarebay in north-western Mesopotamia stated unequivocally:

We believe that the Holy Virgin Mary is the Mother of God (*Astuacacin*) for from her the Divine Logos was truly incarnate ... and that He became perfectly man (*mardac'aw katarelapēs*) ... and no corruption (*apakanut'iwn*) was found in Him. For the body He took from us was incorruptible (*anapakan*) and glorified through its union with Him (*i nmanē miut'enē*) ... And we anathematise the foul Nestorius and Theodore [of Mopsuestia] ... and Eutyches and Severus [of Antioch] and his writings of corruption (*apakanut'ean*).⁴²

A confession which the Armenian kat'olikos answered verbatim, seemingly almost automatically.⁴³ The next letters of Abdišoy to the Armenians repeated mechanically the condemnation of Severus "the master of corruption" and his "books of corruption", but in his first answer to the Armenian kat'olikos, he spelled out

But there are other heretics who hold the evil teaching of Severus and say that the body of the Lord on the cross was corruptible (*apakanac'u*) and subject to corruption (*apakanut'iwn*) and they say rashly that "when the body of the Lord suffered, it received corruption," and they do not hear what Peter says: "His body has not known corruption." (Acts ii.31)⁴⁴

The immediate result of this correspondence was the fulfilment of the Syrians' request by the consecration of Abdišoy as bishop of the Orthodox Syrians, a consecration confirmed by the Chalcedonian

⁴² GT'-II, p. 173-174: "Հաւատամք եթէ սուրբ Մարիամ կոյս, աստուածածին է, զի ի նմանէ ճարմնացաւ Աստուած Բանն ստուգապէս ի ճարմնոյ... և ճարդացաւ կատարելապէս... և ապականութիւն բնաւ ոչ գտաւ ի նմա, զի ճարմինն, որ ի մեզէ առաւ, անապականութիւն էր և փառաւոր ի նմանէ միութենէ, ... Եւ նզովեմք զՆեստորիոս պեղծ և զԹէոդորոս... և զԵւտիքոս և զՍեւերոս, և զգիրս իւրեանց ապականութեան." Cf. GARSOLIAN (1999a), p. 458-459. Cf. also Garitte in *Narratio*, p. 142 §60: "La *Diegesis* affirme clairement que les Syriens (§76) dont les démarches auprès du catholicos arménien précédèrent le conseil de Dvin étaient de confession julianiste", also COWE (2004), p. 39.

⁴³ GT'-II, p. 177 = GARSOLIAN (1999a), p. 461.

⁴⁴ GT'-II, p. 183: "Բայց և այլ Հերձուածողք, որ ունին զՍեւերոսի չար ուսումն, և ասեն եթէ՝ Մարմինն տեառն ապականացու էր ի խաչին, և ապականութեան Հնազանդեցաւ, և յանդգնեալ նոյնպէս ասեն եթէ՝ Յորժամ չարչարեցաւ ճարմին տեառն ապականութիւն բնկալաւ, և զայն ոչ լսեն, զոր Պետրոս ասէ թէ Մարմին նորա ոչ ետես զապականութիւն:" p. 192-194 = GT'-I, p. 464-466, 471, 472.

Narratio,⁴⁵ and his presence in 555 at the second council of Duin, whose *Oath of Union* he signed together with the Armenian episcopate, although his name does not appear in the kat'olikos' preliminary *Letter of Blame* to those Armenian bishops who had not responded to his earlier conciliar convocation.⁴⁶

The primary concern of the second council of Duin, was the formal anathematization of the "evil heresy of the Nestorian Xužiks whom the Holy Spirit had anathematized by the 318 orthodox bishops assembled at Nicaea."⁴⁷ The question of the Julianist doctrine does not seem to have been raised explicitly at the council as the *Narratio* tacitly admits, by adding a reference to Abdišoy, "they then anathematized the council of Chalcedon as being Nestorian according to the letter of Abdišoy".⁴⁸ However, it then goes on to state categorically "that the translations into Armenian of the extremist Monophysite works of the patriarch of Alexandria, Timothy Ælurus and of bishop Philoxenos of Mabbug had been brought by Abdišoy and were translated at that time:

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 176: "Աբդիսոյ երբեմն քաւանայի, իսկ այժմ շնորհին Քրիստոսի եպիսկոպոսի." = p. 460; *Narratio* §75-76, p. 36: "ἐχειροτόνησαν δὲ τὸν Ἀπτισὼ ἐπίσκοπον καὶ Εὐτυχέα ἰακωβίτην καὶ δύο ἄλλους ἑταίρους αὐτῶν ὧν ὁ μὲν εἰς ἰουλιανίτης ... (76) οὓς χειροτονήσαντες ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν τῆς Συρίας ἔχειν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὴν συμφωνίαν μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἣν ἰδιοχείρως γράψαντες ἡσφαλίσαντο." This ordination is also confirmed by the *Anonymous Chronicle*, although it confuses the name of the Armenian kat'olikos, ANON., p. 75 = AN. ŠIR., p. 397: "ի սորին աւուրս ձեռնադրեցաւ Աբդիշու եպիսկոպոս ի Շերսիսէ" [sic] Հայոց կաթողիկոսէ."

⁴⁶ GT'-II, p. 201: "Աբդիսոյ Ասորեաց ուղղափառաց եպիսկոպոս" = p. 478; p. 196-198 = p. 474-476. Abdišoy also co-signed the two letters of Nersēs' successor Yovhannēs II Gabelean to Siwnik' and the Albanians. GT'-I, p. 206, 210 = GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 484, 487. Moreover, Abdišoy is blamed for having led the Armenians astray in the *Letter to Abas kat'olikos of Albania* from the patriarch John IV of Jerusalem: "ոչ է արժան տալ... դքսն ի ձեռն սրբոց ուղղափառ եպիսկոպոսաց ՅժԸ իցն ժողովելոց ի նիկիայ..."; JOHN IV, p. 252, ll. 41-43, and by later Armenian sources which, however, confuse the chronology. See *Narratio*, p. 149, and below, n. 55, for the full text in John IV's *Letter*.

⁴⁷ GT'-II, p. 199: "վասն չար աղանդին խուժկաց նեստորականաց, զորս նդովեաց սուրբ Հոգին ի ձեռն սրբոց ուղղափառ եպիսկոպոսաց ՅժԸ իցն ժողովելոց ի նիկիայ..."; GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 476.

⁴⁸ *Narratio* §69-70, p. 35-36: "ὥρισαν γενέσθαι μεγάλην σύνοδον ἐν πόλει Τιβὶν ... (70) ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἀνεθεμάτισαν ὡς νεστοριανὴν κατὰ τὸν λόγον Ἀπτισῶ." = ΜΑΗΕ (1994-1995), p. 433-434. While Abdišoy, and his Syrian colleagues, repeatedly anathematize the council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo, GT'-II, p. 174, 177, 182, 192 = GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 459, 462, 464, 471. The actual *Oath of Union* of the council does not mention them.

§71 Indeed that same year they translated the above-mentioned writings brought by Abdišoy, by Timothy [of Alexandria] and Philoxenos the Syrian, against the council of Chalcedon and all those who confess two natures in Christ our God.⁴⁹

The *Narratio* further asserts that under the influence of these writings, the council proclaimed the Monophysite doctrine of the single nature of Christ, though no such statement is to be found in the conciliar *Oath of Union*, and that the Monophysite addition, "Who wast crucified for us", was also included in the Trisagion.⁵⁰

To all of this, the *Narratio* adds its version of the story of the Julianists' fraudulent ordinations since they no longer had the minimal number of three bishops mandatory for an authentic consecration according to the Nicaean canons.⁵¹ The version in the *Narratio* of the imposition of Julian's dead hand on the head of the new candidate to achieve the required number of three ordainers⁵² was, in its many variants, part of the stock in trade of their opponents which would have a long career. A version of the Armenians ordaining anti-Dyophysite Persian bishops appears in the *Responsa* to John of Antioch (631-649) attributed in the late Syriac, but not the Armenian, version of the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian to a *Letter* of bishop Marūta of Tagrit. The two Armenian versions of the *Chronicle*, while slightly differing one from the other, both attribute this *Letter* to John's predecessor Athanasius (595-631) and suppose that this *Letter* had been addressed to an Armenian kat'olikos named K'ristap'or. Late Syriac chronicles, such as the *Chronicle of Se'ert*, even more con-

⁴⁹ *Narratio* §71, p. 36: "ὅτι αὐτῷ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰς γραφὰς ἡρμήνευσαν τὰς ἐνεχθεῖσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀπτισῶ τὰς μνημονευθείσας τὰς γραφείσας παρὰ Τιμοθέου καὶ Φίλικος τοῦ σύρου τὰς κατὰ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου καὶ τῶν ὁμολογούντων δύο φύσεις ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν," = ΜΑΗΕ (1994-1995), p. 434. Cf. Garitte in *Narratio*, p. 163-166. On the translations of Timothy and Philoxenos, see TERIAN (1982), p. 185, n. 34, and COWE (2004), p. 40, and n. 38.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, §72-73, p. 36: "ἐπείσθησαν δὲ ἐκείνοις τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ συνόδῳ τῇ γενομένῃ ἐν τῇ πόλει Τιβὶν ἐδογμάτισαν μίαν φύσιν λέγειν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ἀθανάτῳ φύσει αὐτὸν ἐσταυρῶσθαι καὶ τεθνάναι. (73) ὁθεν καὶ τὸ «Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς» προσέθηκαν εἰς τὸ «Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός» κατὰ Πέτρον τὸν Κναφέα τὸν παθόντα τὰ Σαβελλίου." = ΜΑΗΕ (1994-1995), p. 434.

⁵¹ ΑΣΤΑ, Nicaea Canon iv, p. 40: "Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· Εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξαπάντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συνψήφων γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι."

⁵² *Narratio* §48-64, p. 32-35 = ΜΑΗΕ (1994-1995), p. 433.

fused and filled with anachronisms and incongruities, relate of the "Jacobites" that the eponymous Jacob Baradaeus joined together with two Armenians named Djyordji/Ġiwarġi and Djiwordjis/Ġiwarġis (*Giorgium et Giorgium alterum*), whom he ordained bishops and who in turn ordained him kat'olikos.⁵³

Obviously this distorted nonsense need not detain us here, but there is no basic reason to question the link between Abdišoy and the Julianists, in the light of his explicit professions in the above-mentioned correspondence preserved in the *Book of Letters*, or that he was a vector for introducing their doctrine into Armenia, since the precisions given by the *Narratio* spell out his long friendship with the co-president of the council of 555, Meršapuh, bishop of Tarōn and the Mamikonean:

They (the Julianists) became friendly with Nersapo, the bishop of Taron who had received the episcopate in the nineteenth year of Kawat, and who had spent many years with his companion Aptiso the Syrian from the monastery of Sarepa near Sasun.⁵⁴

This traditional accusation that the Armenians had been led astray into Julianism by Abdišoy is singled out in the *Letter to the Albanians* of the patriarch John IV of Jerusalem, who gives disproportionate attention there to this matter:

It is not right to give the glory of God to ... Julian of Halicarnassus, nor the valour of God to Abdišo the Syrian, the guide to perdition of the Armenians and the Armenian council ...

The Armenians, however, were deceived by the Syrians, who had left the Holy Church because of their anathema against the holy council of Chalcedon and fallen into the heresy of Julian of Halicarnassus ...

Julian of Halicarnassus had the impiety to say that the body of Christ was incorruptible (*anapakan*) and immortal until the Crucifixion. Just as it was incorruptible and immortal after the Resurrection likewise before the Resurrection, he said, one nature (*mi bnut' iwn*) of the Logos and the body of God ... But if the body of Christ is incorruptible and immortal ... he denied the suffering by the immortality and the Resurrection by the incorruptibility. ...

⁵³ GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 201-218. See also the version of the fraudulent ordinations in CHRON. ZUQ., p. 120-123 = trans. p. 108-110. In the opinion of HONIGMANN (1951), p. 237, the doubtful tale of the ordination of the two Armenians is "probablement une réminiscence de Georges l'Ourtéen".

⁵⁴ *Narratio*, §61-62, p. 34: "Διὰ τοῦτο προσφιλεῖς ἐγένοντο τῷ Νερσαπὼ ἐπισκόπῳ Ταρών, ὅστις τῷ ἰθ' ἔτει τοῦ Καβατᾶ ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, (62) καὶ διετέλεσεν ἔτη πολλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ Ἀπτισῶ τοῦ σύρου ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Σαρεπᾶ μονῆς ἦν τῆς πλησίον Σασῶν." = MAHÉ (1994-1995), p. 433.

But the œcumenical and holy council of Chalcedon was anathematized by the Armenians who had been led astray by the Syrian Abdišo and abandoned the holy and catholic Church.⁵⁵

Throughout the evidence, credible and incredible, emerges the implication of a growing Julianist ambiance of which Armenia was seen as a center. The request of the Syrians to the Armenian kat'olikos for the ordination of Abdišo fits in with the persisting tradition we have just seen that the Julianists when in difficulty turned to Armenia for the episcopal ordinations which they could not perform themselves. That the works of Timothy, and particularly of Philoxenos, were actually brought by Abdišo and translated for the council of 555 cannot be demonstrated at present and the full development of the Julianist wing within the Armenian Church was still in the future. Despite Ter Minasseantz's thesis that Armenia had become completely Julianist in the VIth century, the attention of the Armenian Church had not yet come to rest on the question of Julianism.⁵⁶ Its main concern and that of the council of 555, was still, as has already been said, the Dyophysite threat from the East, but a strong influence begins to be detected by this time, especially in the light of Cowe's thesis that the manifestations of an extreme Monophysite tendency were due to the influence of Philoxenos' doctrine rather than to that of Julian himself.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ JOHN IV, p. 252-254: “և ոչ է արժան տալ զփառս Աստուծոյ... Յուլիանոսի Աղիկառնացոյ, և ոչ զքաջութիւն Աստուծոյ Աբդիշոյի Ասորոյ, որ եղև առաջնորդ կորստեանն Հայոց և կամ ժողովոյն Հայոց: ... Եւ վասն զի Հայք յասորեաց խաբեցան, որ ելին արտաքոյ սրբոյ Եկեղեցւոյ վասն նզովելոյ նոցա զսուրբ Ժողովն Քաղկեդոնի: և անկան յաղանդն Յուլիանոսի Աղիկառնասացոյ: ...

Յուլիանոս Աղիկառնասացի ամբարշտեաց ասել, թէ մարմին Քրիստոսի անապական և անմահ էր մինչև ցխաչելութիւնն՝ որպէս յետ յարուտեանն էր անապակաս և անմահ, նոյնպէս և յառաջ քան զյարութիւն. և մի բնութիւն ասաց Բանին և մարմնոյն Աստուծոյ, ... Զի թէ անմահ և անապական էր մարմինն Քրիստոսի, որպէս ասացն՝ անմահութեամբ ուրացաւ զչարհարանսն և անապականութեամբն զյարութիւնն: ... Իսկ զսուրբ և զտիեզերական Ժողովն Քաղկեդոնի, զոր նզովեցին Հայք, որք մոլորեցան ի ձեռն Աբդիշոյի ասորոյ և ելին արտաքոյ սուրբ և կաթողիկէ Եկեղեցւոյ:”

⁵⁶ TER MINASSIANTZ (1904), p. 52-70.

⁵⁷ COWE (1994), also ID. (2004), p. 35 sq., where he stresses Philoxenos' close link to Simeon of Bēt Aršam, whose mission to the first council of Duin in 505/6 provoked the first Armenian condemnation of the Dyophysite Christology, see above p. 56. Whatever the theological similarity of the two positions, however, the introduction of a Julianist Christology into Armenia is always attributed historically to Abdišo and not to Philoxenos.

The early part of the VIIth century is difficult from the point of view of direct evidence. After the formal rejection of the council of Chalcedon in 607 and the disappearance of the protection extended by Xusrō II, the Armenian kat'olikate oscillated between its moderate and intransigent wings. Whereas Ezr and Nersēs III were willing to compromise with the Byzantine authorities, as we have already seen, the presence of a less conciliatory party is attested by the rejection of this compromise within Armenia, a disavowal which led the more compliant patriarchs to seek Byzantine protection or to retire to the safety of Tayk' near the limits of the Empire.⁵⁸ It seems evident, therefore, that the Julianist doctrine was reaching the center of the Armenian Church even before the end of the Sasanian dynasty.

The case of the kat'olikos Komitas (611/5-628) is of particular interest in this context. Before his election, while he was still bishop of the Mamikonean, Pseudo-Sebēos shows him as willingly attending a council convoked by Xusrō II at a date which is still disputed.⁵⁹ There, his position must have been clearly anti-Dyophysite, since the writings brought by him and his colleague helped sway the favour of the king of kings away from the Dyophysite position of his State Church to that of the Armenians.⁶⁰ Similarly, he maintained this position during his patriarchate and Mahé places him squarely in the intransigent party, together with the kat'olikoi, Anastas I (661-667) and Etia (703-717), as against his immediate, more conciliatory successors, K'ristap'or II (628-630), Ezr (630-641) and Nersēs III (641-661).⁶¹ The Pseudo-Sebēos refers to him as "blessed [*eraneli*]",⁶² but the Chalcedonian *Narratio* clearly brands him as a heretic, who, "more than anyone awakened disputes in order to anathematize the council of Chalcedon".⁶³ The later parallel *Treatise* attributed to the Iberian kat'olikos Arsēn Sap'areli also insists that "he more than all others increased the struggle over Chalcedon".⁶⁴

⁵⁸ See above, p. 60, 62.

⁵⁹ On the disputed date of the council of Ctesiphon, see MAHÉ (1993), p. 463-465.

⁶⁰ [PS]-SEB, xlvi, p. 150-151 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 116-118.

⁶¹ GARSOÏAN-MAHÉ (1997), p. 59.

⁶² [PS]-SEB, xl, p. 129: "Երանելի Կոմիտաս Կաթողիկոսն" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 87.

⁶³ *Narratio*, §116, p. 42: "Κομιτᾶς ὁ καθολικὸς αἰρετικὸς ... μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ πάντας διήγειρε τὴν φιλονεικίαν εἰς τὸ ἀναθεματίσαι τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον." See also the next note.

⁶⁴ *Narratio*, p. 269-270: "Celui-ci plus que tous augmenta les luttes de Chalcedoine". See the preceding note for the parallel text of the *Narratio*.

Thus, the degree of his intransigence may have been underestimated, as attention has been focussed on his contemporary, Yovhannēs Mayragomec‘i, the *bête noire* of the *Narratio* and of the pro-Chalcedonians in general. The *Letter to the Persians* attributed to Komitas, which is preserved in the *Book of Letters* and is linked by Ter Minassiantz to the council which Komitas attended in Persia before his elevation to the kat‘olikate, has Julianist overtones, noted by both Ter Minassiantz and Garitte, and its anathema of Severus of Antioch, following immediately upon the anathema against the council of Chalcedon for speaking of two natures in Christ after the Incarnation, parallels those of Abdišoy:

They also anathematize Severus, who said that the body of Christ was corruptible (*apakanac‘u*) until the Resurrection and after the Resurrection he rendered it incorruptible (*anapakan*).⁶⁵

Komitas’ degree of direct responsibility for the doctrine in the *Knik‘ Hawatoy* remains disputed,⁶⁶ but even if as is probable he was not himself the compiler of the *Knik‘ Hawatoy*, this florilegium provides telling evidence that the growing anti-Chalcedonianism of the Armenian Church in the VIIth century was pushing it to the opposite doctrinal extreme.⁶⁷ Documents have either been included in it under fictitious names,⁶⁸ or they have been altered by forming a pastiche of the earlier texts more suited to contemporary tastes. Thus a passage from the original version of the first *Letter* of the kat‘olikos Babgēn I has (a) been joined, altering them slightly, to passages from the kat‘olikos’ second *Letter* (b) and (c), to form a new hybrid document:

a) This is the faith which the Romans and we the Armenians and the Iberians and the Albanians profess + (b) < and we flee, repudiating it, from

⁶⁵ KOMITAS, *Letter* = GT'-II, p. 409: “Նզովեցին և զՍեբրոս, որ ասաց թէ մարմինն Քրիստոսի ապականացու էր մինչև զյարութիւնն, և յետ յարութեանն արար զնա անապական:”; cf. TER MINASSIANTZ (1904), p. 62-66, and Garitte in *Narratio*, p. 272 §116, l. 289. Even if the attribution of this *Letter* remains questionable, since it is found in the second, and less trustworthy, portion of the *Book of Letters*, its Julianist anti-Severan tendency remains clear.

⁶⁶ THOMSON (1995), p. 142. Cf. COWE (2004), p. 40 and n. 60.

⁶⁷ Although the recent re-print of the *Knik‘ Hawatoy* (Louvain, 1974) gives Komitas as the author. The 1914 edition, of which it is an anastatic reprint, merely says that it had been “compiled in the days of Komitas [յաւուրս Կոմիտաս Կաթողիկոսի Համահաւակեալ],” following the colophon of the ms. It is generally attributed merely to his period or even somewhat later. Nevertheless, the most recent Antelias edition, MH, vol. IV, 2005, p. 45, still gives the *Knik‘ Hawatoy* as a work of Komitas. See the preceding note.

⁶⁸ See below, p. 80.

Chalcedon. For we know the lie of Chalcedon, of Nestorius and of those like them who, we know, flee hypocritically from the error of the heathen and of the Jews, though they confess at the same time heathen beliefs and judaism to seduce into error the mind of the innocent, that is the ignorant, leading the blind astray from the [true] path. + (c) For by not confessing the Son they deny [the Father], they, whom Christ himself is said to have denied before the Father...> (cf. I John ii.23).⁶⁹

This *Letter* is then followed in the *Knik' Hawatoy* by what purports to be the answer of Nersēs II to the *Letter of the Orthodox Syrians* requesting the episcopal consecration of Abdišoy. A comparison with the earlier document, as it is given in the *Book of Letters*, reveals, however, that the former is only a fragment of the original, which it does not follow verbatim. More specifically, it omits the beginning and the first series of anathemata, where the original text specifies, "Severus and his books of corruption", to skip to the second set which merely adds "and all books of corruption" after the anathema of Arius. It lists Severus pell-mell with Barsauma of Nisibis, Ibas of Edessa and the Persian kat'olikos Acacius in a group of Dyophysites to which he obviously does not belong.⁷⁰ Most telling is the inclusion in this group of patriarchal letters of a passage entitled reverently "From our blessed father Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i [Eranelwoyn Yovhannou hōr meroy ... Mayragomec'oy]" unmistakably attributed to the leader of the Julianist party, Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i,⁷¹ to whom we shall presently return.

As in the case for the *Knik' Hawatoy*, Garitte came to the conclusion that the writings attributed to Komitas by the *Narratio*, but not by the *Treatise* of Arsēn Sap'areli or later sources, are not his. Hence, the evidence of his written works is not altogether reliable and probably speaks

⁶⁹ KH, p. 134, l.27-135, l.7: "a) Ջայս Հաւատ Հոռոմք և Հայք և Վիրք և Աղուանք ունին, (b) և փախչիմք ուրացեալ ի Քաղկեդոնէ: Չի Քաղկեդոնի ստուծիւնն զՆստորի և զնոցունց նմանեացն, զոր զիտեմք կեղծաւորութեամբ փախուցեալք ի Հեթանոսութենէ և ի Հրէական մոլորութենէ. զի և զնոյն խոստովանին Հեթանոսութիւնն, միանգամայն և Հրեութիւնն պատրել ի մոլորութիւն զմիտս անմեղաց, որ է ազիտաց, վրիպեցուցանելով ի ճանապարհէ զկոյրն,... (c) Քանզի ոչ խոստովանելով զՈրդի՝ ուրանան զոր ասաց ուրանալ և ինքն Քքրիստոս զնոսա առջի Հօրն [sic]" = a) GT'-II, p. 153, ll. 17-18; b) *ibid.*, p. 158, ll. 18-26; c) *ibid.*, p. 4; cf. GARSOĬAN (1999a), p. 337-338, and n. 141.

⁷⁰ KH, p. 136: "Եւ նզովեմք... զԱրիոս. և զամենայն Գիրս ապականութեանց;" GT'-II, p. 177: "Եւ նզովեմք... և զՍեբրիոս, և զգիրս իւր ապականութեան...", p. 178: "Եւ նզովեմք... և զԱրիոս. և ամենայն գիրս ապականութեան,... և զԲարծումա, և զՍեբրիոս, և զԻբաս, և զԱկակ, և զպիրծ Ժողովն նոցա,..."

⁷¹ KH, p. 142: "Յերանելոյն Յովհաննու Հօր մերոյ, ճգնաւորի և խոստովանողի և Մայրազոմեցոյ՝ ի բանէն, որ վասն տնօրէնութեան Փրկչին."

rather to the general ethos of the period and to his sponsorship of these works rather than to his direct authorship.⁷² However, if we further accept Eremyan's thesis that Komitas' reconstruction of the martyrium of St. Hrip'simē in Vałaršapat had included the single window in the apse, indicating an anti-Chalcedonian position, rather than the triple opening added under his successors for which a structural explanation cannot be justified, and which was subsequently filled in,⁷³ we are brought once more to the view that the kat'olikos' dogmatic position was rather less moderate than has been believed.

The most telling argument for the extremist position of Komitas is the repeated assertion of the *Narratio*, but not of the other Armenian sources, that he had intended, albeit unsuccessfully, to designate as his successor on the throne of the kat'olike the sacristan of the cathedral Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i, who presumably would have been chosen to carry forth Komitas' dogmatic policy.⁷⁴ In fact, however, the deaths in 628, within the same year as the kat'olikos, of the two Persian patrons of the Armenian Church, the king of kings Xusrō II and prince Smbat Bagratuni, brought about a sharp change at Vałaršapat which foiled both Komitas' intentions and the ambitions of Mayragomec'i.

The main lines of Mayragomec'i's life, if not its precise dates, can be obtained from the *Narratio* and most of the sources. Having failed to succeed Komitas in the office of kat'olikos, as the Church swung back to its more moderate wing under Heraclius and the new kat'olikos Ezr,

⁷² *Narratio* §117, p. 42: "ὅς καὶ λόγους πολλοὺς πεποίηκε τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι ἐπιγράψας, κανόνας τε καὶ τύπους τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσαάκ· οὗ βιβλίον ἐστὶν Ἀβαρτακάμ λεγόμενον τῇ τῶν Ἀρμενίων διαλέκτῳ;" *ibid.*, p. 273-277. It should, however, be noted that the *Narratio*, whose translation is dated by Garitte himself ca. 700, is a text which, despite its evident bias, was much closer in date to Komitas and consequently considerably earlier than the *Treatise* of Arsēn Sap'areli and the almost contemporary *History* of Asolik cited by Garitte as the authorities attributing the writings to Mayragomec'i. See also below, p. 80.

⁷³ See above, p. 64-66.

⁷⁴ *Narratio* §118-120, p. 42-43: δς [Κομιτᾶς] καὶ τινα Ἰωάννην ὀνόματι ἐβούλετο γενέσθαι τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ διάδοχον· ἀλλ' οὐ συνέβη τοῦτο αὐτῷ, τῷ Χριστοφόρῳ δέ. (119) Ἐν δὲ τῷ καταβεβλήσθαι τοῦ θρόνου τὸν Χριστοφόρον, ἔχαιρεν ὁ Ἰωάννης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τότε ἐπέτυχεν. (120) Ἐγένετο γὰρ ὁ Ἐσδρας καθολικός. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης μανεῖς βλοσυρῷ τῷ ὄμματι αὐτὸν ὑπέβλεπεν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ αὐτοῦ." Cf. §137-138, p. 45-46. However, COWE (2004), p. 43, is of the opinion that in spite of their rapprochement made by the *Narratio*, "doctrinally, at least, they are poles apart. Komitas is the first to offer a fuller account of what would become the normative position for Armenian doctrine".

Yovhannēs, along with two bishops, Step'anos of Gardman and Mat'usalay of Siwnik', both of whom later parted from him, refused to accompany Ezr to the council of Theodosiupolis in 632, and refused to communicate with him on his return. Reproved by the kat'olikos and abandoned by his former allies, Yovhannēs nevertheless remained obdurately opposed to the compromise accepted by Ezr at the council. Passed over for election to the kat'olikate for the second time after the death of Ezr, he was summoned by the new pro-Chalcedonian kat'olikos Nersēs III. Maintaining his opposition, he was condemned, branded as a heretic and exiled to the Caucasus.⁷⁵ Thence he returned after the death of Nersēs III's successor, Anastas I (661-667), and died peacefully in Armenia in extreme old age. The condemnation of Yovhannēs, with his consequent branding as a heretic and subsequent exile, by the more moderate and conciliatory wing of the Church, resulted, however, in a *damnatio memoriae*. At best, despite Garitte's meticulous analysis of the section in the *Narratio* devoted to his beliefs and career,⁷⁶ Mayragomec'i has largely been disregarded and marginalized, being viewed until recently as an isolated and rejected figure. This conclusion in turn has caused until now the serious underestimation of his importance and that of his party in the internal development of the Armenian Church.

All the available evidence bears witness to the fact that Mayragomec'i was unquestionably the leader of the Julianist party in his time and thus he was singled out for the particular abomination of the *Narratio*, which twice brands him as "the Adversary" [*antikeimenos*] and welcomes his condemnation as a heretic.⁷⁷ His absolute adherence to a Julianist Christology is evident from the accusation of the *Narratio* that he claimed that passages in the Scriptures which referred to the human, and therefore corruptible, nature of the incarnate Christ, more particularly the pericope of His bloody sweat during the Passion on Gethsemane (Luke 22:43-44) - a passage clearly unacceptable to the Julianist belief of His incorruptibility even on earth - were Nestorian interpolations added to the text of the gospel:

(132) But when he [Ezr] showed the testimony of the Scriptures, Ioannes, the Adversary said, "All of this the Nestorians have added to the writings of the Holy Fathers. ..." (133) As in the Gospel according to Luke that

⁷⁵ Ibid., §119-142, p. 43-46; cf. Garitte's discussion, p. 278-349.

⁷⁶ *Narratio*, p. 267-350, and next note.

⁷⁷ Ibid., §135, p. 45: "Αὐτὸς δὲ [Mayragomec'i] τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπέμενε φιλονεικῶν. διὸ ἀντικειμένου ὄνομα ἐκληρονόμησεν". Cf. *Narratio*, p. 324, §132, l.335-p. 335, §135.

“Jesus began to suffer and be troubled and an angel from heaven appeared to Him strengthening Him” and that “He prayed with greater intensity and his sweat became like globules of blood.”⁷⁸

An accusation which is also found in the *Treatise of the Blessed T'ēodoros against Mayragomec'i*:

Now, in their corrupted thoughts they begin to write in this manner, ... It is evident, they say, that the first translation of the Gospel is not acceptable, [where] they relate of the sweating from fear at prayer of the omnipotent Word of God, and of his strengthening by the angel.⁷⁹

This is fully borne out by the ninth section of the *Knik' Hawatoy* entitled:

That it is right [to speak] of the Incarnation of the Logos and [to say] that the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, went to the passion willingly (of his own will) for the salvation of creatures and it is not right to speak of fear of death, nor that there was bloody sweat, nor that an angel strengthened [Him].⁸⁰

⁷⁸ *Narratio* §132-134, p. 45: “Καὶ ὅτε ὑπέδειξε τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῆς γραφῆς, εἶπεν ὁ ἀντικείμενος Ἰωάννης· «Ταῦτα πάντα οἱ νεστοριανοὶ προσέθηκαν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ... (133) ὥς καὶ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτι “Ἦρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν· ὥφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν”, καὶ ὅτι “Ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἰδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὥσει θρόμβος αἵματος”, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια». (134) Ἐφάνησαν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐνώπιον Ἑσδρα καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων ἐναντία.” cf. Garitte’s commentary, p. 324-334. The fact that “ce passage contesté de saint Luc ... est omis aussi par la plupart des anciens mss arméniens,” p. 29, must necessarily imply that the views of Mayragomec’i, far from being purely idiosyncratic, were shared by others who contested the authenticity of these verses in the first half of the VIIth century. Consequently, their absence from Armenian mss. bears witness to the spread of Julianism in Armenia, even if Garitte notes sensibly that “les bibles de l’époque les (the contested verses) contenaient, car l’attaque du Mayragomec’i contre eux n’a de sens que s’ils faisaient partie du texte reçu.” See also COWE (1994).

⁷⁹ YŌ (1833), p. 148: “... յայտ է, ասեն, թէ անընդունակ է առջթարգմանութիւն աւետարանին, որ յաղթականութեանն զաշարտնութիւնն պատմեն ամենակարողի Բանին Աստուծոյ, և զի հրըշտակէն քաջալերելն:” *ibid.*, p. 154. Cf. *Narratio*, p. 329-331. Although this *Treatise* was included in the Venice 1833 edition of the works of Yovhannēs Ōjnec’i, it was removed from the 1834 edition, probably because the editors found attribution to Ōjnec’i unacceptable. It has, however, been restored in the 1953, 2nd edition. See Garitte in *Narratio*, p. 331, on the probable date of this work, and COWE (2004), p. 43-45.

⁸⁰ KH, Section ix, p. 293: “Եթէ պարտ է մարմնացելոյ Բանին և մարդացելոյ Տեան մերոյ՝ Որդւոյն Աստուծոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի, վասն փրկութեան արարածոց կամաւորութեամբ զալ ի չարչարանս, և ո՛չ աս(ել) երկիւղ ի մաշուանէ, և ո՛չ արեան քիրտն լինել, և ո՛չ ի հրեշտակէ զօրանալ:”

From this, there is little doubt of Mayragomec'i's connexion to the compilation of *Knik' Hawatoy* and to other works, but its precise degree still remains unclear. Whereas, as we have seen, the *Narratio* appears to attribute the *Knik'* to Komitas, the later works which deal with this subject, namely the parallel XIth century *Treatise* of the Georgian kat'olikos Arsēn Sap'areli and the nearly contemporary, *History* of Asoġik, both give Mayragomec'i as the author. According to Asoġik:

He [Mayragomec'i] wrote three books, and did not inscribe his name in them, because the people did not accept [them]. The name of one of them is "The Instruction of Life (*Xrat varuc'*)", that of the other, "The Root of Faith (*Hawatarmat*)" and the name of the other is "Noyemak."⁸¹

In addition to works where his name has been disguised as claimed by Arsēn Sap'areli and Asoġik, a number of passages in the *Knik' Hawatoy* are explicitly attributed to Mayragomec'i and openly bear his name, as has long been noted: *From the Discourse on the Faith of the Blessed Hermit and Confessor Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i*; likewise: *From the Discourse on the Faith of the Blessed Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i*; *From the Discourse of our Blessed Father, Hermit and Confessor Yovhannēs*

⁸¹ ASOġIK, II.ii, p. 87: "Սա գրեաց երիս գիրս, և զանուն իւր ոչ վերագրեաց ի նոսա, վասն չընդունելոյ ժողովրդեանն. անուն միոյն՝ իրատ վարուց, և անուն միւսոյն՝ Հաւատարմատ, և անուն միւսոյն՝ Նոյեմակ:" Cf. the far longer and polemical passage in the *Treatise* of Arsēn Sap'areli, VI.ii-iii, p. 108-109, who also attributes to Mayragomec'i the translations of Timothy Ælurus, Peter the Fuller, and surprisingly of Julian's opponent, Severus of Antioch, of others under the names of the orthodox doctors, St. Sahak and Moses, as well as under his own name, and accuses him of altering the ancient regulations and canons: (ii) "Or un certain Mayragomec'i, Yohan le Maudit qui usurpa le nom de docteur, s'arma de livres opposés au saint concile de Chalcédoine. (Komitas) lui promet de siéger après lui sur son trône et lui fit traduire les ouvrages hérétiques de Timothée d'Alexandrie, surnommé le Blaireau, ceux de Pierre le Foulon, surnommé le Loup, ceux de Sévère et d'autres hérétiques. Il les écrivit indûment sous le nom de docteurs orthodoxes — de saint Sahak et de Movsēs — en sorte que par ce mensonge, il inspira confiance à tout le pays d'Arménie. (iii) Il composa aussi beaucoup de traités qu'il mit sous son nom." The *Narratio* attributes the last to Komitas, see *Narratio*, p. 269-271, also, Garitte's detailed discussion of the attribution of these works and of the *Knik' Hawatoy*, with the relevant bibliography, *ibid.* p. 268-277. In his opinion, Arsēn's attribution of this work to Mayragomec'i, who was known for his writing activity, is more likely than that of the *Narratio* to Komitas, who had no such reputation, *ibid.*, p. 274.

The rejection by Mayragomec'i of the attempt made at the council of Theodošioupolis/Karin to reconcile Greek and Armenian patristic authorities, a rejection echoed in this section of the *Knik' Hawatoy* provides additional support for the argument that he was involved in the compilation of this florilegium. See also next note.

Mayragomec'i, On the Economy of the Saviour, and a shorter one with almost the identical title but substituting "Christ" for "Saviour".⁸² Of particular interest in this connexion is the opening passage of the ninth section of the *Knik' Hawatoy*. This accusation echoes Mayragomec'i's own accusation of interpolated passages in the gospel of Luke:

And also concerning those who have also mutilated the Gospel of Luke and whatever has been written about the birth of the Lord they have cut off, and they have removed much from the words of the teaching of the Lord.⁸³

And this accusation of altered texts is repeated in a later fragment attributed once more directly to Mayragomec'i.⁸⁴ Under these circumstances it seems most likely that he participated in some degree in this compilation although, as Garitte observed, the qualification of "blessed", which invariably accompanies his name, makes it unlikely that he was the author of the version which has come down to us.⁸⁵ It is not our purpose to attempt any conclusions on the difficult problem of the authorship of the *Knik' Hawatoy*, suffice it to say that Mayragomec'i most likely

⁸² KH, p. 288, and 327-330: "Երանելոյ Յովհաննու ճգնաւորի և խոստովանողի Մայրագոմեցոյ ի Հաւատոյ բանէն," *ibid.*, p. 142-146: "Երանելոյն Յովհաննու Հօր մերոյ, ճգնաւորի և խոստովանողի և Մայրագոմեցոյ՝ ի բանէն, որ վասն տնօրէնութեան Փրկչին." = p. 253-256, with the substitution of *Քրիստոսի* for *Փրկչին*; *ibid.*, p. 363-364: "Երանելոյ Հաւր մերոյ ճգնաւորի և խոստովանողի Յովհաննու Մայրագոմեցոյ՝ ի բանէն, որ վասն չարչարանաց և աներկիւղ մատնել զանձն իւր ի մահ վասն արարածոց."

As for the works attributed to the Vth century kat'olikos, Yovhannēs Mandakuni, in the opinion of Tēr Mkrtč'ean they are also among the works of Mayragomec'i, *ibid.*, p. xxi, xxxi, cxviii, in which case they may be some of his works published under the name of orthodox doctors mentioned by Arsēn Sap'areli, *Narratio*, p. 270, 348.

Finally, the *Letter* cited by Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, while probably authentic, deals primarily with an Iconoclastic sect, the election of kat'olikos Abraham I after the twenty-year interior schism, and the condemnation of Chalcedon by the Armenians. As such, it has little to offer us here, even though it has been linked to the *Treatise* of Vrt'anēs K'ertol. MK-D, II.xlvi, p. 266-269 = MD, p. 171-173. See above, II, n. 76.

⁸³ KH, p. 293-294: "Եւ ի վերայ այսոցիկ ևա զՂուկա աւետարանն կրճատեալ, և որ ինչ միանգամ վասն ծննդեան Տեառն գրեալ է՝ ի բաց Հատին. և ի վարդապետական բանիցն Տեառն բազում ինչ ի բաց Հանեալ:" Cf. p. 325-326.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 327-328: "Երանելոյն Յովհաննու Մայրագոմեցոյ՝ ի Հաւատոյ բանէն."

⁸⁵ *Narratio*, p. 277, citing the opinion of Jordan. Garitte was himself of the opinion that "La rédaction primitive du *Sceau de la Foi* lui-même eut probablement pour auteur le Mayragomec'i", *ibid.*, p. 348. Cf. COWE (2004), p. 41, who suggests that these passages were added to the *K'nik Hawatoy* after Mayragomec'i's death, because of their inclusion of the "reverential formula 'our blessed father'", and *ibid.*, p. 42, that the work was compiled in his circle".

was involved in the first compilation of this work. Similarly, just as Mardirossian has now shown, he was the compiler of an earlier version of the *Armenian Book of Canons* (*Kanonagirk' Hayoc'*) of which the first known version was promulgated in 719 by the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i.⁸⁶ What matters for us here is the fact that this association with the two leading compilations of the period make it impossible to isolate Mayragomec'i or to deny his importance in his own time.

Nor has he lacked for appreciation outside the circle of ardent partisans of Chalcedon, such as the *Narratio* and its later parallel the *Treatise* of the Iberian kat'olikos Arsēn Sap'areli. In the tenth century composite *History of the Ałuank' (Albanian)* attributed to Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, he is identified as an "Armenian doctor (*vardapet*)," whose opinion is cited as an authority against an iconoclastic sect, who may be the Paulicians, and a letter purporting to be from him is included, as we have seen, in this *History*.⁸⁷ Still more impressive is the portrait of Mayragomec'i given by the kat'olikos Yovhannēs the Historian known for the moderation of views to the point that he chose to avoid accompanying the young Bagratid king Ašot II to Constantinople in 914 lest, as himself admits, he be accused of Chalcedonianism.⁸⁸ Far from attacking Mayragomec'i, Yovhannēs praises his learning and blames the kat'olikos Ezr for not having taken him along to the council of 632:

... upon his departure he [Ezr] did not take with him Yohan, the sacristan of St. Grigor, who was the most accomplished theologian of his time and was renowned for his knowledge of the Divine Scriptures; he went with

⁸⁶ For the latest detailed study attributing the first compilation of the *Armenian Book of Canons* to Mayragomec'i, see MARDIROSSIAN (2004), p. 264-271, 275: "Bien que Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i eût été condamné comme hérétique, ... l'imposant corpus canonique qu'il avait composé restait en vigueur comme le prouve le Pseudo-Sebēos."; p. 275, 278: "Yovhannēs Awjnec'i, en puisant la quasi totalité du contenu de son *KH* dans la corpus de Mayragomec'i, marquait le caractère éminemment anti-chalcédonien de son recueil,' *et passim*. Cf. [PS]-SEB, xlviii, p. 159 = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 128.

⁸⁷ MK-D, II.xlvi, p. 267: "Դաւիթ՝ եպիսկոպոս Մեծ Կողմանց, խնդրեաց գրով ի Յովհաննէս վարդապետէ Հայոց." = MD, p. 171. Cf. above, n. 33. Also [PS]-ՏԱՐ, p. 63 though he mistakenly makes Mayragomec'i a partisan of Heraclius, "Եւ անդ էր Յովհանն Մայրապետեցի, այր փիլիսոփայի և արքայն (Heraclius) սիրեր վնայ վասմ սրբութեամ իւրոյ:"

⁸⁸ YK, lv, p. 357: "Իսկ իմ չուեալ գնացի ի գաւառն Դերջան, և ամսօրեայ աւուրս ինչ ի նմա զետեղեալ, թէպէտ և ստէպ ստէպ Հրաւիրական կոչէր սիրալիւր կամօք երթալ ի պալատն առ կայսր, սակայն ես ոչ կամեցայ, զմտաւ ածեալ թէ՛ գուցէ գտցի ոք. և ընդ ակամբ Հայեսցի զանդ երթալն իմ ի քաղկեդոնիտսն յարակցել ինձ Համարեալ. և ապա այսպէս ոչ կամեցայ գնալ ի գայթակղութիւն մտաց տկարաց:" = YK-M, p. 198.

another person, his sister's son who was not well educated, to carry out the undertaking. When they met the emperor, they sought from him a signed statement of faith. He immediately wrote and gave them ... But both Ezr and those with him, as if they were ignorant of the Divine Scriptures, could not perceive the crafty subtlety of the heresy which the imperial signature concealed like a bushel. They were betrayed and deceived with those who adhere to the Tome of Leo. ...

[After breaking with Ezr, Yohann] went to the district of Gardman where he set for himself an austere course of life and pursued an entirely virtuous way of life under pressing and trying circumstances. A slanderous rumor about him holds that he allegedly tried to introduce a wicked heresy into the holy church. On my part, however, I cannot agree that such a man could in anyway have thought of destroying the structure of the true faith. It is my opinion that this rumor was the work of some of his opponents and archenemies. But should anyone attribute the sprouting of such a wicked heresy to his disciple Sargis, I also would not disagree with him concerning this, since I have personally read his harmful writings. But since Yovhan had disattached himself from Sargis, I maintain that his heresy was beyond Yovhan's control.⁸⁹

The slightly later *History* of Asolik likewise rejects the accusation of heresy directed at Mayragomec'i and attributes it to his disciple,

He [Mayragomec'i] went to Gardman and ended his life in a demonstration of virtue. Concerning him it is rumored that he introduced heresy into the Church, which is not of him but one of his disciples named Sargis did this, whom Yohan drove away from himself.

⁸⁹ Ibid., xviii, p. 99-102: "Եւ իբրեւ չոգաւ (Ezr), ոչ տանէր ընդ իւր զՅովհան փակակալ սրբոյն Գրիգորի, որ էր յայնմ Ժամանակի փիլիսոփայ կատարեալ, և աստուածային գրոց գիտութեան բանիբուն ճանաչիւր, այլ զայլ ոմն իւր քեռորդի՝ կիսակատար ուսմամբ՝ առեալ զնայր նովաւ վճարել զգործ իրին: Եւ ի Հանդիպել կայսերն՝ խնդրեն առ ի նմանէ ձեռնարկ Հաւատ նամակի: Որ և վաղվաղակի իսկ գրեալ ետ նոցա՝ ... Իսկ Եզրի և իւրայոցն տգիտաբար իմն իբր անձանօթ գրոց աստուածայնոց, ոչ կարացեալ ի միտ առնուլ զխորանանկ Հնարիմացութիւն Հերձուածոյն՝ որ ընդ կայսերական ձեռագրիւն իբրեւ ընդ գրուանաւ էր թագուցեալ, դաւաճանեալ խաբեցան ընդ նորա՝ ըստ օրինի տօմարին Լեոնի: ... Բայց փիլիսոփոսն Յովհան... ապա չուէ զնաց ի գաւառն Գարդմանայ, և անդ ապա խստամբեր վարս իւր ստացեալ, նեղ և անձուկ պողոտայիւ Հետեի զկնի ամենայն առաքինի վարուց:

Զսմանէ ապա Համբաւ ամբաստանութեան պատմի, իբր դառն Հերձուածս իմն նմա մուծանել ի մէջ եկեղեցւոյ սրբոյ. սակայն ես ոչ կարեմ Հաւանութիւն իմոյ կամացս տալ վասն այնպիսոյ առնն, թէ զիա՞րդ նա կարէր խորհել առ փուլզանել զուղիղ Հաւատոյ շինուածս: Այլ կարծիս իմն ընդունի սիրտ իմ ի Հակառակագիր և խորիմաց այլոց կամաց այս գործ Համբաւոյ լեալ: Բայց եթէ սակս Սարգսի աշակերտի նորա Համբաւէ ոք զայնպիսի չար Հերձուածս ընծիւղեալ, և ես ես ոչ վասն նորա Հակառակիմ, զի իմ իսկ ընթերցեալ է զիր վնասու նորա. այլ վասն զի Յովհան ի բաց յիւրմէ Հալածեաց զՍարգիսն, սակս այնորիկ արտաքոք կամաց նորա ասեմ զնորայն Հերձուած:" = JK-M, p. 99-100.

He shares and repeats the katolikos-historian's opinion that Mayragomec'i, "shone forth through his teaching (*vardapetut'iwn*)".⁹⁰ Hence, both seek to clear Yovhannēs from any accusation of heresy, shifting it to one of his rejected disciples. Thus, far from being an insignificant figure or universally reviled, Mayragomec'i, whose anti-Chalcedonianism if not his extremism was acceptable to a large element within the Armenian Church, emerges as one of the dominant personalities of his period. His memory was still remembered with reverence even three centuries later.

From the disagreement between the Chalcedonian sources and the less biased Armenian historical evaluations, Mayragomec'i emerges as a remarkable figure.⁹¹ Supported in his youth by Komitas, who saw in him a successor, involved, for better or worse in the two major compilations in which the Armenian Church sought to set out its doctrine and its codification, the *Seal of Faith* and the *Armenian Canonbook*, Yovhannēs' career was central to the internal development of the Armenian Church.⁹² Nor was his importance short lived or limited to him alone. Although the passages bearing his name in the *Knik' Hawatoy* always refer to him as a "hermit or ascetic (*čgnawor*)," he had supporters, at first the bishops, Step'anos of Gardman and Met'usalay of Siwnik', and after their leaving him, a number of monks and priests.⁹³ Even the hostile pro-Chalcedonian

⁹⁰ ASOLIK, II.ii, p. 87-88: "Եւ ի սորա Ժամանակս փայլէր վարդապետութեամբ Յովհան Մայրագոմեցի, որուն զկաթողիկոսութիւնն Հաւատացեալ էր Կոմիտաս: ... զՅովհանն Մայրագոմեցի: Իսկ նորա զնացեալ ի Գարդման՝ անդ կատարէ զկեանս իւր առաքինաջան Հանդիսիւ: Զսմանէ Համբաւի Հերձուած մուծանել յեկեղեցի՝ որ ոչ է սորա, այլ ոմն Սարգիս անուն յաշակերտաց նորա արար զայն, զոր Հալածեաց Յովհան յիւրմէ:"

⁹¹ *Narratio*, p. 347, where Garitte came to the same conclusion: "Jean Mayragomec'i est une figure remarquable parmi les héros du nationalisme religieux arménien; il retient l'attention... par l'étendue de son érudition, par la vigueur de sa pensée et de son style (à en juger par les fragments du *Sceau de la Foi*); l'influence exercée par ses doctrines sur l'évolution des idées religieuses en Arménie doit avoir été considérable ...".

⁹² Garitte interestingly argues, *Narratio*, p. 322-323, that the central preoccupation of the council of Theodosiopolis/Karin, noted by the *Narratio*, was the reconciliation of Armenian and Greek versions of patristic authorities, p. 323, §130, l.331: "Ezr donne ici comme fondement de sa décision la concordance constatée par lui entre les écrits des Pères grecs et ceux des Pères arméniens ... (323). Le texte du §122 ainsi que le §130 et les suivants, montrent que dans les délibérations de Karin l'argument patristique a occupé une place prépondérante, c'est là un trait bien conformé aux préoccupations de l'époque qui a vu la compilation de florilèges dogmatiques tels que le "*Sceau de la Foi*". Hence, the rejection by Mayragomec'i of some Greek versions as interpolated. See above, n. 78.

⁹³ *Narratio*, §123-126, and for the version of Arsēn Sap'areli, see ALEKSIDZE-MAHÉ

sources trying to focus on his disgrace at the hands of the Byzantine sympathizers Nersēs III and prince T'eodoros Rštuni, admit that he returned from exile after the death of Nersēs' successor Anastas I and probably outlived them both if, as all agree, he died in extreme old age.⁹⁴ In Cowe's opinion, the spread of Mayragomec'i's teachings is attested by the council of Duin of 644/5⁹⁵ and Yovhannēs Kat'olikos, writing in the beginning of the Xth century, was still familiar with his disciple Sargis whose writings he had read, though he condemned them. The Chalcedonian *Narratio* is forced to admit that

His disciples multiplied and turned altogether away from the truth. Their heresy spread out throughout our land until the time of the emperor Justinian [II];⁹⁶

that is to say, to the turn from the VIIth to the VIIIth century. Going still further, the parallel text of Arsēn Sap'areli is forced to add more information and a different chronological precision:

... il [Mayragomec'i] s'établit dans une petite vallée... du Somḡiti, Hayoc' Jor. Il s'y fit beaucoup de disciples, non seulement sur place, mais de l'autre côté de la Kura, dans l'Ayrarat, le Gardman, le Jorop'or et le Somḡiti. Il en recruta beaucoup comme moines de sa doctrine dérégulée et il emplit la terre de la corruption de son hérésie.... Il rentra au Somḡiti... pour regagner son premier pays, Bjni et Mayravank' toujours empli de la même hérésie rebelle. C'est là que mourut en un âge avancé, à 133 ans, ce chien méchant, impudent, qui corrompait l'Arménie avec ses disciples devenus aussi vieux, à Mayravank', à Eḡivard et à Saint-Théodore. Puis ils furent de nouveau expulsés... et ils se répandirent ici et là, dans toute l'Arménie, dans les villes, comme dans les villages, pour tromper les gens, jusqu'au jour présent.⁹⁷

This precision as to the survival of Mayragomec'i's party is all the more interesting that Arsēn Sap'areli, dated until recently in the IXth century, has now been moved to the XIth.⁹⁸

(2010), XV.ii, p. 119: "Step'anos évêque du Gardman, Mat'usala Kert'oł, du Siunik', et tous les autres prêtres qu'il [Mayragomec'i] pouvait trouver, qui n'avaient pas siégé au synode"; Garitte, in *Narratio*, p. 313 §123, l. 310, gives a slightly different translation.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 343-347.

⁹⁵ COWE (2004), p. 45.

⁹⁶ *Narratio* §143, p. 46: "Οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ πληθυνθέντες πάντας ἐξέκλιναν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ διεσπάρη ἡ αἵρεσις αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἕως Ἰουστίνου καίσαρος."

⁹⁷ ARS. SAP'., XVI.5-XVII.3, p. 121; cf. *Narratio*, p. 349.

⁹⁸ ALEKSIDZE (1980), p. 68, 297. One more indication of the survival of Mayragomec'i's

Yet another witness to the widespread development of Julianism in Armenia are the explanations we find proffered for the Armenian practice of using unmixed wine in the chalice of the Eucharist. The practice itself is attested in Armenia from at least the Vth century, probably as part of Armenia's share in the customs of the Iranian world, and it is accompanied by the usual panoply of biblical citations, but the repeated justification given for this custom is highly revealing. Equally significant is their association with one of Mayragomec'i's followers and one of the most outstanding figures for the end of the VIIth and the beginning of the VIIIth centuries, Step'anos bishop of Siwnik', already mentioned as a translator, theologian and polymath, and possibly with the kat'olikos Sahak III Jorop'orec'i (678-703).⁹⁹ Three documents, all presenting problems, were included in the second portion of the first edition of the *Book of Letters*, these are: an *Answer to the Letter to the patriarch Germanos*, presumed to be by Step'anos Siwnec'i; an *Explanation ... against the dyophysite Nestorians*, attributed to Sahak "the holy doctor (*vardapet*), Armenian kat'olikos and great translator", and *A Letter of the same Lord Yovhannēs against those who Corrupt the Holy Sacrament by Leaven and Water*.¹⁰⁰

party may be the polemical *Treatise* of T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor, COWE (2004), p. 43. This is possible, especially in the light of Garitte's suggestion (*Narratio*, p. 331) that this *Treatise* may have been addressed to the Mayragomians rather than merely to Mayragomec'i himself, the confusion of the Armenian plural *y* (c') and the singular *y* (y), being an easy copyist's mistake. However, the insecurity of its date, 700 or 900 after Christ, casts doubt on any definite conclusion. For late reappearances of Mayragomec'i's views, see COWE (2004), p. 48, and ID. (1993), n. 48.

⁹⁹ GARSOĬAN (2009a). See above p. 49, for Step'anos Siwnec'i. Another witness may perhaps exist in the eighth canon of a council presumably held at Theodosioupolis/Karin in 693, which condemned the use of leavened bread and watered wine for the Eucharist as a heretical, Nestorian and Chalcedonian practice: "դի լուաք լուր սարսափելի և ծանրագոյն, թէ ի տեղիս տեղիս յառաջնորդաց եկեղեցւոյ ոմանք խմորեալ ի Նեստորականաց և ի Քաղկեդոնականաց, ապականին զսուրբ խորհուրդն խառնմամբ խմորոյ և ջրոյ." This is, however, unlikely even though this canon has been published in *Kanonagirk'* II, p. 254, and translated by Van Esbroeck in *Trullo*, p. 443, since the canons attributed to this council and the council itself have been rejected as apocryphal. See MAHÉ (1994-1995), p. 474.

¹⁰⁰ i) "Պատասխանի թղթոյն՝ զոր գրեաց Տէր Ստափաննոս Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոս, առ Տէր Գերմանոս Կոստանդնուպոլսի Հայրապետն, որք երկու բնութիւնս և երկուս ներգործութիւնս և երկուս կամս խոստովանին տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի, և որք ի կենդանարար խորհուրդն ջուր խառնեն, Հետեալք Ժողովոյն Քաղկեդոնի," GT'-I, p. 373-396 = GT'-II, p. 435-466; ii) Բացայայտութիւն Համաձայն անտուածաբանութեան Հոգելից Հարցն սրբոց ըստ առաքելասահման աւանդիցն եկեղեցւոյ Քրիստոսի, Հանդերձ Հաւատաբանութեամբ ճշմարիտ ուղղափառ դաւանութեան Հայաստանեայց, ասացեալ սրբոյ վարդապետին Սահակայ Հայոց կաթողիկոսին և մեծի թարգմանչի ընդդէմ երկաբնակաց

If the attribution of these works still leaves some questions open, the date —late in the VIIth century or early in the VIIIth— is not; neither is their content. With the exception of the first letter which, in spite of its title, concentrates on the question of Christ's monoenergy or monothely, the other two reiterate purely Julianist arguments in defense of the Armenian, as against the Greek, custom of using unleavened bread and an unmixed chalice for the Eucharist. Most insistent here is the second *Letter*, which if it is not securely by Sahak III does belong to this period:

For we confess the body of Christ constantly to be incorruptible and omnipotent from the very moment of the union of the Logos, that is why we take azymes for the bread of holiness, which signifies incorruptibility, [as the one] with which we offer the sacrifice. For leaven is the symbol of evil and of corruption ... we through unleavened bread ... which is the symbol of incorruptibility, confess the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ to have been incorruptible, ... and vivifying.

Similarly for blood, the redemption of sins, we confess it the blood of God really and truly incorruptible, not that of a corruptible man but of Him who is surely sitting next to the Father, the Only-begotten, the Son of God, ... it is a considerable insubordination to introduce corruption into the incorruptible blood of God. For men are accustomed to call wine unmixed with water incorruptible, while the one mixed with water they deem corruptible. So it is clear that those who mix water into the vivifying chalice wish to corrupt it and revolt against the Lord, that which let no Christians think. So let us offer the holy sacrifice with uncorrupted wine. ...

And we confess that the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are immortal and incorruptible.¹⁰¹

Նեստորականացն:” idem, I, p. 413-482, not included in GT'-II, but published separately. See Sahak III; iii) “Նորին տեառն Յովհաննու Հայոց կաթողիկոսի ընդդէմ այնոցիկ որ ապականեն զսուրբ խորհուրդն ի ձեռն խմորոյ և ջրոյ.” GT'-I, p. 234-238 = GT'-II, p. 467-472, where the reproduced initial *Norin* “of the Same”, makes no sense, since this text no longer follows a text of Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i as it did in the first edition. For the problems raised by the second text, see MAHÉ (1994-1995), p. 473-474, who concurs in the argument that this document despite its title, cannot possibly be attributed to Sahak I the Great (386-438), and concludes that “le document est bien des VII^e/VIII^e siècles”, although he is less certain of its attribution to Sahak III by VAN ESBROECK (1995), p. 331-348.

¹⁰¹ GT'-I, p. 475-480: “Իսկ մեք անապական և ամենազաւր խոստովանիմք զմարմինն Քրիստոսի միշտ և Հանապազ անդստին իսկ ի միանալ բանին, վասն որոյ և զՀացն սրբութեան որով և զփրկական պատարագն մատոցանեմք բաղարջ առնեմք. որ զանապականութիւն նշանակէ: Իսկ խմորն չարութեան և ապականութեան է նշան... “Իսկ մեք բաղերջ Հաց... անապականութեան նշան անապական... և կենդանարար խոստովանեսցուք զմարմինն փրկչի մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի: ...

Նոյնպէս և զմեղսաքաւիչ արիւն նորա ճշմարտապէս անապական արիւն Աստուծոյ խոստովանիմք. և ոչ ապականացու մարդոյ, այլ ստուգապէս աթոռակցին Հաւր Միածին

The *Letter* incorrectly attributed to Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i repeats the same argument:

You will find at the beginning of the *Lectionary* a spiritual discourse which altogether uproots the heretics who confess as being corruptible the incorruptible body of Christ and for this reason mix in heaven and water, and (thus) pollute and corrupt the incorruptible mystery.¹⁰²

The Julianist character of the justifications given for the Armenian practice of using unleavened bread and unmixed wine for the Eucharist is evident even from these brief excerpts and surely needs no further demonstration.

The case of Step'anos Siwnec'i seems to remain as yet somewhat more ambiguous. His *Answer to Germanos* contains no eucharistic material, though his repeated insistence, with a wealth of patristic references, on the one nature and one will of Christ would be in keeping with a Monophysite position.¹⁰³ His treatise, *On the Incorruptibility of the Body (against) those who say that he who Increased and Decreased was Corruptible. Because the Body of Christ Grew and Increased and was not Corruptible, for it was the Body of God. Testimonies of the Saints and Divines who Confess [Him] Incorruptible from the Womb and unto Eternity of Eternities*,¹⁰⁴ which consists in the main, once again, of a tissue of patristic quotations is self-evidently of Julianist character from its title. Still more startling is the characterization of Julian of Halicarnassus as "saint" in the *Letter to the Bishop of Antioch* attributed to Step'anos

Որդւոյն Աստուծոյ, ... որ է յոյժ ամպարշտութիւն ապականութիւն մտանել յանապական արիւն Աստուծոյ: Քանզի և մարդիկ սովոր են զգինի՝ որ անխառն ի ջրոյ՝ անապական կոչել, իսկ զջրախառնն՝ ապականեալ ասեն: Ահա յայտ է թէ որք ջուր խառնեն ի կենարար բաժակն, ապականել կամին և ամպարշտիլ ի Տէր, զոր մի՝ լիցի քրիստոնէից խորհել զայս. այլ անապական գինւով մատուցուք զսուրբ պատարագն: ... և խոստովանիմք անմահ և անապական զմարմին և զարիւն Տեառն մերոյ Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի:՝

¹⁰² GT'-II, p. 468: "Գտանես յսկզբունն ընթերցականացն ճառ Հոգեպատումն, որք արմատաքի խլեն զՀերձուածն, որ ապականացու խոստովանին զանապական մարմինն Քրիստոսի, և յաղազս այնորիկ արկանեն խմոր և ջուր պղծել և ապականել զանապական խորհուրդն."

¹⁰³ See e.g., GT'-II, p. 438-439, his insistent quotation of Cyril of Alexandria, "մի Քրիստոս, մի Որդի, մի բնութիւն խոստովանիմք" (439), which, though orthodox in itself, is suggestive in context.

¹⁰⁴ SS-II, p. 368: "Վասն անապականութեան մարմնոյն, որք ասեն թէ՝ Որ աճէ և նուազէ, ապականացու է: Եւ վասն զի մարմինն Քրիստոսի աճէր և զարգանայր, և ապականացու ոչ էր, զի Աստուծոյ մարմին էր՝ վկայութիւնք սրբոց և աստուածազանից, որք անապական խոստովանին յարգանդէ և յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից:" The attribution of this work to Step'anos Siwnec'i by Tēr Mkrtč'ean has not been challenged, and the methodology of accumulating patristic citations resembles that in other works attributed to Siwnec'i.

Siwnec'i.¹⁰⁵ Much remains to be done on the dominant though still enigmatic figure of Step'anos Siwnec'i, nor are we yet in the position to attack or defend his orthodoxy nor to define his precise Christological doctrine. Taken in conjunction with the other eucharistic and dogmatic texts from this period, however, there seems to be little doubt of the opposition of at least part of the Armenian Church to any form or suggestion of Dyophysitism, be it Theodoran or Chalcedonian. What already seems evident is that its resistance to the attempt of the Heraclian dynasty to take advantage of every opportunity throughout the length of the VIIth century to impose a more or less forcible dogmatic union on the Armenians, thrown into relief by the refusal of Mayragomec'i and his supporters to attend the council of 632, drove some of the Armenians at least in the direction of increasingly radical Monophysitism.

It has recently been suggested, following a thesis first presented by Tēr Mkrtč'ean, that "these (VIIth/VIIIth) century theologians share much more with Severus than with either Julian or Philoxenos, although they continue to affirm the incorruptibility of Christ's flesh."¹⁰⁶ This may not be altogether impossible though as difficult to prove on historical as on dogmatic grounds. We know from Abdišoy that Severans had designs on Armenia in his time,

For there are also other heretics who adhere to the evil teaching of Severus and say that "the body of the Lord on the cross was corruptible (*apakanac'u*) and subject to corruption," and they also say boldly that "When the body of the Lord suffered, it received corruption," ... And these Severans also say, "We shall go to Armenia, we shall teach the kat'olikos and his bishops, and we shall bring back from them a letter (saying) the true faith is the one to which they (the Severans) adhere, and that we (the Armenians) believe the same." And they wish to come to you as to ignorants. But you O Spiritual Fathers ... speak to them so that they see that they do not receive us."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ GT'-II, p. 505: "Եւ զսուրբն Յովնոս Աղիկառնացին". For the doubts expressed over the authenticity of this document, see FINDIKYAN (2004), p. 53.

¹⁰⁶ COWE (1993), p. 124.

¹⁰⁷ Abdišo-I = GT'-II, p. 183: "Բայց և այլ Հերձուածողք, որ ունին զՍեբրոսի չար ուսումն, և ասեն եթէ՝ Մարմինն տեառն ապականացու էր ի խաչին, և ապականութեան Հնազանդեցաւ, և յանդգնեալ նոյնպէս ասեն, եթէ Յորժամ չարչարեցաւ մարմին տեառն ապականութիւն ընկալաւ, ... Եւ արդ ասեն նոքին իսկ Սեբրիանոսքն, թէ մեք ի Հայս երթամք, և զկաթուղիկոսն և զեպիսկոպոսոսն ուսուցանենք, և ի նոցանէ թուղթս բերենք թէ Հաւատ այդ արդար է զոր դոքայդ ունին, և մեք այնպէս Հաւատամք. և առ ձեզ որպէս յանգէտս կամին զալ: Բայց դուք, Հարք Հոգեւորք, ... խաւսել ընդ նոսա բանիւ գիտութեան, զի նոցա տեսեալ եթէ ոչ ընդունին զմեզ." Cf. *Letter of the Orthodox Syrians*, p. 174; Abdišo-II, p. 192; Abdišo-III, p. 194.

If we also take into account Abdišoy's repeated anathemata against Severus in the rest of his correspondence with the Armenians, it seems probable that some Severan missionaries carried out their proselytizing intention. The extent of this cannot, however, be traced at present. The only index of this presence, as far as can be seen, is the unexpected anathema against Severus which appears in kat'olikos Komitas's *Letter to the Persians* alongside the usual miscellaneous list of heretics, some long gone such as Marcion, Mani and Paul of Samosata, some more recent and known to earlier Armenian councils, such as Barsauma and the Persian kat'olikos Acacius:¹⁰⁸

They also anathematized Severus, who said that the body Christ was corruptible (*apakanac'u*) until the Resurrection, and after the Resurrection he made it incorruptible (*anapakan*).¹⁰⁹

As we shall see, the Severans were important enough to be singled out in a separate canon at the council of Manazkert in 725/6, though here the strictures may be directed at Syrian Severans.¹¹⁰ Whatever the insufficiently demonstrated case of the Severans, all the evidence, eucharistic and dogmatic, points rather to Julianist supporters, and it is interesting to observe that though there is no direct mention of Julian by name in the above mentioned *Letter to the Persians* of Komitas, the kat'olikos includes in it an anathema against the Gaianists, a name often given to Julianists in this period.¹¹¹

The VIIth was a contentious and polemical century, but even without embarking on an elaborate theological analysis, it seems already justifiable to conclude that once the danger of imperial interference was removed and a *modus vivendi* negotiated with the Arabs at the end of the

¹⁰⁸ They are specifically anathematized in the VIth century documents relating to the first council of Duin; cf. GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 187-188, 442, 449, etc.

¹⁰⁹ GT'-II, p. 409: "Նզովեցին և զՍևերոս, որ ասաց թէ մարմինն Քրիստոսի ապականացու էր մինչև զյարութիւնն, և յետ յարութեանն արար զնա անապական".

¹¹⁰ The argument of COWE (2004), p. 48, that the Armenian theological views "actually reveal a greater resonance with the tenets of Severus" seems rather overstated in view of the condemnation of Severus in the canons of the Council of Manazkert, see the preceding note and below, n. 341. He himself admits that the Armenian theologians maintained "their own distinctive emphasis".

¹¹¹ See the preceding note, and GT'-II, p. 409: "Նզովեցին զԳայինոսս, որ զմարդկայինն բնութենէ ասեն՝ զրի որպէս մոմ մատանեալ. և չուրջ զան ոգիք՝ փոփոխմամբ և ցանկութեամբք ի միմեանս իջանեն...", which has nothing to do with corruptibility. See also, above n. 10, and below, n. 133, for the witness of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* on the spread of unmistakable Julianism.

century, the Armenian Church had finally reached the possibility of putting its own house in order. Once the thrust of extremist Monophysitism was neutralised by Mayragomec'i's repeated failure to obtain the kat'olikate, the way was open for the Church to put an end to the division between its moderate and radical parties and to attain a doctrinal *via media* which would become intrinsic to its own position. This task would fall after more than a century of controversy to one of the most distinguished figures in Early Mediaeval Armenia, to the kat'olikos Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i (717-728)¹¹² at the two councils that he would convoke, first at Duin in 719 at the beginning of his pontificate, and the second, in 725/6, to reach an accord with the West-Syrians, in the southern Armenian city of Manazkert north of Lake Van, when the Arab authorities did not permit the kat'olikos and his bishops to travel to Syria itself.¹¹³

Chalcedonianism, even though evidently still extant, did not seem to have presented the major threat here. To be sure, the tone of Yovhannēs' *Kanonagirk'* is unmistakeably anti-Chalcedonian due, as Mardirossian has argued, to its dependence on the earlier compilation of Mayragomec'i,¹¹⁴ but the council and its doctrine are not explicitly singled out for particular condemnation in the *Oratio Synodalis* of the initial council of 719, beyond the repetition of the use of the Monophysite addition to the Trisagion in the twentieth canon of the council¹¹⁵ and its mention in its listing of contents, though the actual section dealing with this point is missing from the mss.¹¹⁶ Nor, as has already been said, is there any men-

¹¹² YK, xxii, p. 128-129 = YK-M, p. 110. For a more detailed study of the Christological positions of Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i and his younger contemporary Xosrovik T'argmanič, see COWE (2004).

¹¹³ MAHÉ (1983), p. 481-484.

¹¹⁴ See above, n. 86.

¹¹⁵ YŌ, p. 64/65, canon xx: "Պարտ և արժան է զհյալեցարն երիցս անգամ զՀեա բերել, ըստ երիցս անգամ կրկնելոյ սրբասացութեանն..." = *Kanonagirk'* I, p. 524.

¹¹⁶ YŌ, p. 4/5, §xiii, p. 44/5, note. Despite the assertion of COWE (2004), p. 30, that canon 29 of the council condemned the "Chalcedonians as schismatics", the text of the canon, directed against heretics in general does not single them out by name, YŌ, p. 74/75 = *Kanonagirk'* I, p. 533: "Իթ: ոչ է պարտ ամենևին անխտիր լինել և Հաղորդութիւնս առնել ընդ Հերձուածողաց, այլ խորհել ի նոցանէ, և ոչ Հաւասարէ ընդ նոսա ի Հոգեկան և ի ճարմնական սեղանս. զի պատկառեսցեն և փափաբեսցեն ճիաբանել ընդ ուղղափառութեանն աւանդիչս:" Cowe himself concedes, *op. cit.*, p. 31, n. 7, that "Ōjnec'i did not devote much specific attention to the Chalcedonian christological definition in the writings generally attributed to him", though later writers saw "his rejection of the Council... (as)... his delimiting trait". He further rightly rejects Kogian's hypothesis that Ōjnec'i himself might have held pro-Chalcedonian views. In general, by the beginning of the VIIIth century, the

tion of a separate work on this subject composed by the kat'olikos, although the attention of Ōjnec'i was unquestionably turned to the dissident groups within the country in the *Treatises* with which he accompanied the decisions of the first council. In addition to their condemnation in the last canon of the council of 719, the Paulicians were singled out in an extensive condemnation indicating their continuing importance in Armenia as well as in the Byzantine empire where they flourished briefly under the iconoclastic emperors.¹¹⁷ More importantly, the extreme Monophysites, whose insistence on the incorruptibility of Christ's body during his sojourn on earth necessarily led to a denial of His Incarnation, were addressed in a second discourse *Against the Phantasiasts* in which Ōjnec'i condemned the Aphthartodocetists through his insistence on the reality of the Incarnation, though it made as yet no direct reference to the Julianists.¹¹⁸ For all of his circumspection, however, the kat'olikos' intentions appear evident from the beginning of his pontificate.

The main concerns of the council of 719, if we are to judge from the *Oratio Synodalis*, and from the canons which were then promulgated in the compilation of the *Kanonagirk'* immediately following this council, were liturgical and disciplinary in character. They were intended to bring order into the clergy and to the celebration of the various offices, rather than to concentrate on purely dogmatic issues, which were treated at a later date.¹¹⁹ However, the major achievement of Ōjnec'i, possibly under the anti-Julianist influence of his teacher T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor, who had accompanied and counselled Ezr to the compromise council of 632, was to find a path between the extreme positions of the past to the achievement a dogmatic synthesis. While maintaining the anti-Chalcedo-

direct struggle of the Armenian Church against Chalcedonianism seems to have climaxed in the past.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 78/79-106/107, "Հնդդէմ Պաւղիկեանց". Cf. GARSOĬAN (1967), p. 94-95, 98 n. 61, 164-165.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 108/109-178/179: "Նորին Յովհաննու իմաստասիրի ընդդէմ Երեւութականաց". It is interesting that in spite of this work, the canons of the council of 719 do not include a condemnation of the Phantasiasts, as they do of the Paulicians. This may possibly be due to a residue of Mayragomeci's influence on Ōjnec'i's *Kanonagirk'*, although this cannot possibly be demonstrated at present. COWE (2004), p. 45-46, argues that Ōjnec'i here was "faithful to his teacher's [T'ēodoros K'rt'enawor] largely Severan doctrine in the main, but expressing it in more sophisticated terms", and further, p. 46-49, that Ōjnec'i's arguments were further refined by his younger colleague, Xosrovik T'argmanič'.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 2/3-76/77; *Kanonagirk'* I, p. 514-537; MAHÉ (1993), p. 479-480; MARDIROSSIAN (2004), p. 269-270. See below, n. 156, for FINDIKYAN's analysis of the works attributed to Ōjnec'i.

nian stance long taken by his Church, he succeeded in neutralising the extremist position of Mayragomec'i's followers, thereby resolving and pacifying the recently tumultuous internal history of the Armenian Church. For all of their primary focus on the codification of ecclesiastical discipline, the council of 719 and the *Kanonagirk'* which followed it already point, even though tacitly, in the direction of a *via media* intended to restore its threatened equilibrium to Armenian Christianity. In its eighth canon setting down the regulations for the celebration of the Eucharist, which, as we have seen, had received a Julianist interpretation from such theologians as Step'anos Siwnec'i, the council of 719 specified:

It is fitting to bring to the holy table bread without leaven and unmixed wine, according to the tradition given to us by St. Gregory, and not to conform to the traditions of other Christian people ... and not to introduce any innovations,¹²⁰

thereby reaffirming the idiosyncratic Armenian custom of using unleavened bread and unmixed wine, but significantly omitting the Julianist explanation that any admixture was a corruption of the body and blood of the Lord. The final explicit resolution of the dogmatic crisis was to come at last toward the end of Ōjneci's pontificate, as indicated in canons iii and vi of the council of union with the Syrian Jacobites held at Manazkert in 725/6. Regrettably, the wording of these canons which has reached us is very late, being included in the Syriac version of the late XIIth century *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian.¹²¹ Nevertheless, the condemnation of both the extremist doctrines of Severus of Antioch and especially of Julian of Halicarnassus are evident from the existing text:

iii. If anyone says that it was not with our mortal, sinful and corruptible flesh, rendered through Grace immortal, sinless and incorruptible that the Word of God united, but with the flesh of Adam before the Fall. Let him be anathema.

¹²⁰ YŌ, p. 60/61, canon viii: "Արժան է և զՀացն անխմոր, և զգինին անապակ Հանել ի սուրբ սեղանն, ըստ աւանդելոյն մեզ սրբոյն Գրիգորի. և ոչ խոնարՀել յայլ ազգաց քրիստոնէից յաւանդութիւնս... և չառնել նորաձեւ ինչ:" cf. *Kanonagirk'* I, p. 519.

¹²¹ The two Armenian epitomes of Michael the Syrian, MMA-I, p. 352-353, and MMA-II, p. 339-340, do not include details of the council of Manazkert, but both refer to the presence of Julianists and their condemnation: "Յայնժամ երէց մի ԲարչապուՀ անուն և սարկաւազ մի Գաբրիէլ անուն... զՀայոց ասէին թէ Յուլիանոսիտք են և զԱսորոց թէ ապականացու ասէին զմարմինն Քրիստոսի... Իսկ ՅովՀաննէս այր սուրբ... եկն ի քաղաքն Մանազկերտ Հայաստանօք... և նզովեցին զՅուլիանիտսն և զապականացու խստորովանողսն զՔրիստոս:"

vi. Whoever says that the body of Christ was corruptible, and not glorious and perfect since the union, but from the conception until the resurrection was corruptible, inglorious and imperfect in another sense than the one of the Prophets, Apostles, Fathers and Doctors, and that since the resurrection it was incorruptible, glorious and perfect. Let him be anathema.¹²²

With this double condemnation the Armenian Church did far more than reach an agreement with the Syrians. While maintaining its opposition to the Christology of the council of Chalcedon whose symbol acknowledging two natures in Christ still seemed too close to that of the true Dyophysites, it freed itself from the extremism that it had struggled against within the country for the past century at least, as it had freed itself earlier from external pressures. Subsequent discussions and concessions might have to be made with Byzantium or with the Latins in the Cilician period, but these were brought on by particular circumstances. Julianist explanations of the Eucharist reappeared late in the Middle Ages in the XIIth century writings of Połos Tarōnec'i and in those of Mxīt'ar Sasnec'i in the next century, who maintained that the addition of leaven to dough made it mildew and the addition of water to wine turned it into vinegar thus symbolically corrupting the body and blood of the Lord.¹²³ But these were temporary or marginal diversions. By the early part of the VIIIth century, the Armenian Church had successfully found its own

¹²² TĒR MINASSIANTZ (1904), p. 78, 170-197, Canon iii: “Եթէ ոք ոչ ասիցէ ի մեղանշական և ի մաշկանացու մերմէ բնութենէս առնուլ մարմին բանին Աստուծոյ, այլ յանմեղ, յանմաշ և յանապական բնութենէն, զոր ունէր նախաստեղծն յառաջ քան զյանցանս, նզովեալ եղիցի:”; Canon vi: “Եթէ ոք ոչ ասիցէ զմարմինն Քրիստոսի անապական ի ծննդենն որ ի կուսէն մինչև ցլաւիտեան, որ ըստ բնութեան, այլ ըստ անճառ միաւորութեան, այլ մինչև ցլարութիւնն ապականացու և անփառաւոր և անկատար և ապա յետ յարութեան ասիցէ՝ եղև անապական և փառաւոր՝ նզովեալ եղիցի:” = MSS, II.xi.21, p. 499-500 = IV, p. 461: “iii. Si quelqu'un dit que ce n'est pas de notre chair mortelle, pécheresse et corruptible que le Verbe s'est uni (un corps) mais de la chair qu'avait Adam avant son péché et qui était par la grâce, immortelle, impeccable et incorruptible. Qu'il soit anathème; vi. Que quiconque dit que le corps du Christ fut corruptible, et non pas glorieux et parfait dès l'union; mais que depuis la conception jusqu'à la résurrection, il fut corruptible, non glorieux, non parfait dans un autre sens que celui employé par les Prophètes, les Apôtres, les Pères et les Docteurs, et que, depuis la résurrection il est incorruptible, glorieux et parfait soit anathème.” This translation by Chabot from the Syriac version is slightly different from the one given by COWE (1993), p. 115, but the sense of the two canons is not altered thereby. The holding of the council under the Syrian patriarch, Athanasius I, is also recorded in the *Ecclesiastical Chronicle* of Barhebraeus, BAR HEBR., CE, §57, p. 300-306, but he does not give the precisions found in Michael's *Chronicle*; cf. GARSOĬAN (2009a).

¹²³ GARSOĬAN (2009a), p. 270-271.

way, reinforcing its claim to apostolicity, putting its house in order and ending the see-saw between its conciliatory and obdurate wings.¹²⁴

The canonical, disciplinary and liturgical development and systematization of the central body of the Church was apparently also accompanied by the consolidation of an institution of equal importance for its intellectual authority and development, that of coenobial monasticism and the appearance of stable monastic foundations. In an earlier study we have attempted to show that such organized foundations did not exist in Persarmenia before the middle of the VIth, or more likely the beginning

¹²⁴ COWE (2004), p. 49, likewise came to the conclusion that “in contrast to evaluations... such as that proposed by Tēr Minaseanc’, I would suggest on the basis of the evidence adduced that Julianism did not typify the normative statement of the [Armenian] Church” which maintained its own specific position, whereas Julianism remained marginalized.

The Armenian Church’s claim to be an apostolic foundation was evidently reinforced in the period of the Interregnum. This claim had already been based in the earlier period by the legend of the coming of St. Thaddeus, but not St. Bartholomew, known to the Vth century *Epic Histories*, see BP-G, p. 411-412, s.n. T’adēos. It was then supported further by the tradition of St. Gregory’s conception on St. T’adēos’ grave at Artaz, mentioned by Movsēs Xorenac’i, II, lxxiv, p. 211-212 = MK, p. 217-218, and n. 524, as well as in the *Letter to the Patriarch of Antioch* presumably attributed to Step’anos Siwnec’i, GT’-I, p. 323 = GT’-II, p. 493-495, although this attribution has recently been questioned. In the same period, manifests itself the legend of the second apostle St. Bartholomew, first mentioned by Step’anos Siwnec’i, VAN ESBROECK (1962), p. 425 sq., and likewise known to Xorenac’i, II, xxxiv, p. 158 = MK, p. 173, to the *History of the Hrip’simean Saints*, GARSOĬAN (2005-2007), p. 186-187, and n. 40-44, and to the Chalcedonian *Narratio*, §6-7, p. 27, with the commentary of Garitte, *ibid.*, p. 65-67, in which Bartholomew is connected with the site of Theodosiupolis/Karin. Although the tradition of the apostle Bartholomew does not appear in the earlier source, it is subsequently repeated in the *History of Yovhannēs the Historian*, who pushes the apostolic claim back to the period of Armenia’s Christianization by stating unambiguously that the Illuminator had “occupied the throne of the blessed apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus”. He furthermore asserts that Armenia had been acknowledged to be the Seventh patriarchate in the IVth century, at the time of St. Nersēs the Great, because the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew had been designated by the Lord “as the missionaries and evangelists of the race of Ashkenaz. Their relics are to be found among us, and the living martyr Gregorios received their throne... [and] the total number of the patriarchal sees became seven. This is still so and shall remain to be so unto the ages of ages”. Finally he asserts the preeminence of the Armenian church over the others in the region on the basis of the ninefold heavenly hierarchy of Ps.-Dionysus the Areopagite, which had been translated into Armenian by Step’anos Siwnec’i early in the VIIIth century, YK, Preface, vii, viii, xii, p. viii, 51, 62-63 = YK-M, p. 64, 80, 84-85, and 244, xii #6-14. Latēr still, the presumed creation of a Seventh, Armenian Patriarchate is repeated in the late *Life of St. Nersēs*, NERSĒS-I, vii, p. 10. On these questions see further, MK, p. 173, n. 253 and p. 218, n. 524, as well as YEVADIAN (2007-2008), I, p. 219-228; VAN ESBROECK (1983) and RUSSELL (1986).

of the VIIth century, and that the early Christian eremitic and peripatetic form of asceticism predominated in the country up to that time.¹²⁵ The appearance of the new type of stable foundations still remains difficult to trace, especially in view of the fact that the crucial archaeological evidence cannot as yet be adduced and the canonical evidence is likewise inconclusive in the main.¹²⁶ However, the VIth and VIIth centuries emerge as a period of effervescence, of explosive transformation and expansion in the history of Near Eastern monasticism. The great monastic foundations of Palestine and Jerusalem itself may have suffered from the Persian capture of the Holy City in 614, but their enormous expansion and prestige in the period immediately preceding are well attested by both Cyril of Scythopolis and John Moschos.¹²⁷ The renewal of pilgrimages, in particular from Armenia to Jerusalem¹²⁸ after its restoration under the new patriarch Modestos, is likewise recorded. The tomb of Modestus was to become one of the sites visited by pilgrims whose travels were facilitated by the temporary extension of Persian domination to Palestine, as noted by F. Jullien: «(un) pèlerinage rendu plus aisé grâce à l'unification des deux pays sous la domination sassanide.... Le nouveau contexte contribuait à une certaine homogénéité politique dans la région qui put favoriser le déplacement de personnes, *a fortiori* de moines désireux d'accomplir des pèlerinages aux sources de la foi.»¹²⁹

¹²⁵ GARSOÏAN (2005-2007), p. 177-236.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 185-189, 190-194.

¹²⁷ PRICE-BINNS (1991), p. xii: "[Cyril of Scythopolis] provides ... a history of the Palestinian church during the period when it was at the height of its power and prestige"; FLUSIN (1983), II, p. 36: "Le monachisme palestinien sert de référence: c'est dire quel est son prestige"; ESCOLAN (1999), p. 11, 29-30, places the appearance of Syrian monasticism in the later IVth century, but concurs in the opinion that its golden age coincided with the VIth century.

¹²⁸ The earliest record of an Armenian pilgrim to the Holy Land presumably dates from the mid-IVth century, STONE (1984), but since he came from the region of Sebaste in Imperial Armenia and was furthermore a heretic associated with the sect of the Archontics, he is hardly an impeccable witness for the beginning of the movement in Greater Armenia. The argument that a council held at Duin in 536 had forbidden Armenian pilgrimages to the Holy Land; Garitte in *Narratio*, p. 140, followed by MARAVAL (1985), p. 75, rests on the late, XVIIth century, *Chronicle* of Galanus. No earlier Armenian sources refer to this fact nor do they mention a council held at Duin in 536.

Armenian pilgrims reached as far south as the Sinai according to the testimony of AN. SIN., p. 81, supported by the graffiti published by STONE (1979). Cf. MARAVAL (1985), p. 112 and n. 51.

¹²⁹ F. JULLIEN (2008), p. 77-78, *Letter of Antiochus to Euthymius*, PG, 89, col. 1421-

Increased monastic activity was recorded throughout the Near East and Caucasia. According to later Georgian traditional sources, the "Thirteen Syrian Fathers" coming from the East had laid the foundation of Kartvelian monasticism in the mid-VIth century.¹³⁰ In the Persian empire, we know that a great monastic reform was carried out at the end of the Sasanian dynasty by such well known figures as Abraham of Kaškar (†586) and his successors, Dadišō' and Babai.¹³¹ To be sure this great monastic expansion was part of the Nestorian world to which the Church of the Orient belonged; however, Honigmann's detailed study also shows extensive Monophysite foundations first associated with Severus of Antioch and subsequently recreated under Jacob Baradaeus.¹³² John of Ephesus, serving as a source for the third part of the so-called *Chonicle of Zuqnin*, records that in the mid-sixth century:

this man sent those whom he had (ordained) in all directions to be advocates of their error, that is of the heresy of illusion and of *phantasia*. This they did eagerly, and they went east and west... others from among them directed their course to the countries of Sophanene and Arzanene and entered also Armenia, whereby many of them, erring themselves and lead-

1428; cf. the Answer of the Armenian Kat'olikos Komitas to Modestos cited in [PS]-SEB, xxxvi, p. 119, which testifies to the existence of contacts between Armenia and Jerusalem and to the reports the Armenian kat'olikos had received from the Holy City, "Այլ Հաւատարիմ է Աստուած, որ սփռփեաց Հայրական գթութեամբ իւրով զամենայն Հատս Հաւատացելոց ի ձեռն այդորիկ, և մոռացոյց զտրտմութիւնս մեր ուրախութեամբ լրոյս և ձայնիւ շինութեամբ և խաղաղութեամբ Երուսաղէմի." = SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 73. The activity of Modestus is celebrated by ANT. OF ST. SAB. The ANON. GUIDI, p. 23, however, gives the credit to the nestorian Yazdin: "Puis Yazdin demanda au roi la permission de reconstruire les sanctuaires de Jérusalem et, envoyant une forte somme d'argent, il les restaura avec tous leurs ornements," see FLUSIN (1992), p. 172-177. On the tomb of Modestus as a site of pilgrimages, see GARITTE (1960a).

¹³⁰ MARTIN-HISARD (1985/6), EAD. (1993), p. 557 and n. 52.

¹³¹ The main theme of the monastic panegyric in the *Liber castitatis*, *passim*, is that of praise for the founders of monastic communities. See LABOURT (1904), p. 315-324; VÖÖBUS (1960), p. 170-171, 179-180; most recently, F. JULIEN (2006b), p. 201-211, who notes interestingly that the excavations on the island of Khärg seem to indicate a mixed, eremitic and coenobitic, foundation of the type of Abraham's foundations: "Abraham institua une forme de vie monastique mixte, semi-anachorétique sur le modèle de Scété, mais en développant une structure cénobitique qui devait s'affirmer avec ses successeurs..." (206-207); likewise EAD. (2008).

¹³² HONIGMANN (1951), p. i, and especially the second part of his study, "La hiérarchie monophysite au temps de Jacques Baradée (552-578)," p. 157-243, 165, 168: "Jacques Baradée... réussit à fonder, en quelques années, un nouvelle hiérarchie monophysite qui... fut... assez vigoureuse pour résister, pendant plusieurs siècles, à toutes les épreuves."

ing others astray, have persisted in those countries until now. They corrupted and totally lured into their heresy the countries of Arzanene and Sophanene especially... [lacuna]¹³³

The account of Thomas of Marga speaks of Messalians rather than Monophysites in northern Mesopotamia, but he also refers to unnamed "heretics" who are probably to be identified with the latter,¹³⁴ and the chronicle known as the *Anonymous Guidi* confirms that the authorities favoured the Monophysites over the Nestorians.¹³⁵ The entire monastic world of the Near East was in a period of ferment and it is consequently entirely plausible that a similar phenomenon should have manifested itself in neighbouring Persarmenia at this time.

The immediate cause of the Armenian monastic transformation remains unclear and may not have had a single origin. Abdišoy, whom we have seen as one of the probable vectors for the introduction of Julianism into Armenia, came from the monastery of Sarabay in the very region of Northern Mesopotamia singled out by Thomas of Marga, just over the border from the see of his friend, Meršapuh of Tarōn, the co-president of the second council of Duin. This foundation seems to have been sizeable, since the first *Letter of the Orthodox Syrians* to the Armenians lists a number of priests and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, and it may have served to some degree as a model.¹³⁶ However, another source of influence on Persarmenia, may also have been

¹³³ CHRON. ZUQ., p. 123-124 = trans., p. 111. Interestingly, this passage specifies Phantasiasts or Julianists as against less radical Monophysites such as John of Ephesus himself.

¹³⁴ THOM. MARGA, I, p. 52 = II, p. 91-92, xxvii: "they (the Nestorian clergy) feared the wicked doctrine of the Méšalléyânê and the blackness of the religion of the heretics, lest these regions round about should be sown by the husbandmen of the Evil One, and it was not easy for them to visit the churches through fear of the government, lest Khosrau [II]... should act deceitfully with them and they be delivered over to dangers...", a complaint which bears out the shift in Xusrō II's favour from the Nestorian position of the Persian State Church to the Monophysite position, as does Thomas's reference to "the wicked King Khosrau", *ibid.*

¹³⁵ ANON. GUIDI, p. 20: "Gabriel [Xusrō II's Monophysite physician] autem Šigār oriundus multa orthodoxis nestorianis minitatus, nostros e monasterio Mār Pethyōn et monasterio Sirīn atque ex aliis monasteriis expulit, quae sectae assectis monophysitis, habitanda tradidit." Cf. F. JULLIEN (2008). The study of F. Jullien concerns itself with the importance of the survival of Nestorian Christianity and the widespread missionary activity of the Nestorian monasteries, but this in no way suggests that this activity was exclusively reserved to them and not shared by their Monophysite opponents. Cf. *supra*, n. 132, for the study of HONIGMANN, and p. 68-74 for the spread of Julianism.

¹³⁶ *Letter of the Orthodox Syrians*. Cf. GARSOĬAN (2005-2007), p. 219.

provided by the considerable number of Armenian monasteries in Jerusalem noted by Anastas *vardapet* at that time, since these were in contact with the great contemporary Palestinian foundations associated with St. Euthymius and St. Sabas as well as those in the Holy City itself.¹³⁷ Both in the Palestinian desert and in the Armenian foundations in Jerusalem, we find the same mixed type of community uniting coenobia and isolated eremitic cells also found in Armenia.¹³⁸ It is further interesting to observe that the Hierosolymitan Armenian foundations were associated not so much directly with the Church as with members of the great noble families, such as prince Hamazasp Kam-sarakan; the same families that we have found as the patrons of the multiple churches in their homeland.¹³⁹ However, since the VIth and even more the VIIth century seem to have been the period of transition and transformation from an earlier isolated ascetic life to a communal one, be it *laura* or *conoebia* throughout the East, a single origin should perhaps not be singled out.

In addition to the comparative material already adduced, one more sign of such an evolution in Armenia is provided by the appearance of an innovation in terminology that was also discussed in our earlier study.¹⁴⁰ The term *vanic' / vanac' erēc'*, "elder of a community" appears in both the first *Letter of the Armenians to the Persians* from the first council of Duin at the beginning of the VIth century, where it designates a member

¹³⁷ GARSOĬAN (2002), EAD. (2005-207), p. 220-226. The presence of a stable Armenian community in the Holy City is well known and is confirmed in the VIth century by a passage from the *Anonymous Chronicle*, ANON, p. 71 = AN ŠIR., p. 395: "Մէջ որ յերուսաղէմ բնակեալ էմք, զոր տեսաք սքանչելիս՝ պատմեմք ձեզ, որ ի Հայքդ էք:" Cf. GREENWOOD (2008), p. 242, who is of the opinion that this information was drawn from a letter sent from Jerusalem to Armenia and postulates the existence in Armenia of an archive where Hierosolymitan dispatches were preserved.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 223 and n. 206. Cf. FLUSIN (1992), II, p. 24-25: "L'existence [en Palestine] de deux types principaux de monastères, ... correspond à une réalité aisément observable. Les *cénobias* ... sont des établissements où les moines mènent en commun une vie de travail et de prière, dans des bâtiments groupés, isolés et protégés de l'extérieur par un mur de clôture. La *laure* présente un aspect tout différent. Elle est certes dotée d'organes centraux ... Mais ... l'accent n'est pas mis sur la communauté. ... le *cénobion* est tout d'abord conçu comme un degré préparant à une forme de vie plus parfaite ... Le *cénobion* est pour les débutants, le moine avancé se consacre ensuite à la vie en cellule ... (ceci) n'empêche nullement les *cénobias* de jouer dans le désert un rôle prépondérant, et non pas subordonné aux laures:" See also, ID. (1996), p. 587-589.

¹³⁹ See above, p. 41-42.

¹⁴⁰ GARSOĬAN (2005-2007), p. 193-194, 201-203.

of the Persian delegation,¹⁴¹ and in the first *Letter of the Syrians* to the kat'olikos Nersēs II requesting the ordination of Abdišoy in the middle of the same century.¹⁴² However, in both cases the reference is to Syrians and not to Armenians, though Abdišoy himself may use this term in greeting to his future colleagues. To my knowledge, the title does not appear elsewhere in the VIth century.¹⁴³ With the opening of the next century, however, the term not only becomes common, but it appears associated with a specific geographic locality. So in 606/7, bishop Movsēs of C'urtav fleeing from the wrath of his ecclesiastical superior, Kiwrion of K'art'li, informs the *locum tenens* of the Armenian kat'oliate, Vrt'anēs K'ert'ol that

on account of the bitterness of winter and of the storm I have been delayed in the monastery of Saint John the Baptist which is in Aragacotn and I have been received by the superior of the community (*vanic' erēc'*), the blessed lord Babiwlas.¹⁴⁴

This same Babilas is found together with a group of his colleagues in the contemporary list of bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries who came in 607 to make their peace with the newly elected kat'olikos Abraham I,

In the seventeenth year of Xosrov Aprvez, King of kings ... came before me Abraham, kat'olikos of the Armenians and my fellow bishops... (the following bishops) ... together with the *vanic' erēc'*s, namely, Abraham, the *vanic' erēc'* of the holy cathedral, Samuēl, the *vanic' erēc'* of St. Hrip'simē, Babiwlas, the *vanic' erēc'* of the community (*vank'*) of

¹⁴¹ *Letter to the Persians*, GT'-I, p. 43 = GT'-II, p. 149: "... եկեալ Հասին առ մեզ արք
ոմանք... Սամուիէլ ՄաՀարձոյ վանաց երէց ի Կարճիկան նաՀանդէ." Cf. GARSOĬAN (1999),
p. 441.

¹⁴² *Letter of the Orthodox Syrians*, GT'-I, p. 52 = GT'-II, p. 172: "Տէր Ներսէս
Կաթողիկոս Հայոց Մեծաց... և այլ աթոռակցաց և իշխանաց աշխարհիդ. Սամուիէլ
քովրեպիսկոպոս, և Դանիէլ վանից երէց և Սիւնական Սարեբայի, Գաբրիէլ վանից երէց
Ովփեսի, և Եղիա սիւնական և վանից երէց Սուահնայի, և Շապուհ վանից երէց Գնիսթայի..."
The fact that at least two of these *vanic' erēc'*s were stylites (*siwnakan*) does not argue
in favour of the tight organization of their communities.

¹⁴³ The appearance of this term, as a hapax, in canon xvi of the council of Šahapivan in 444, is probably an index of the VIIth century reworking of these canons in the VIIth century, in Mardirossian's opinion, by none other than Mayragomec'i. See MARDIROSSIAN (2004), p. 191-193, 201; also GARSOĬAN (2005-2007), p. 191-193, and 201-203.

¹⁴⁴ MC-I, GT'-I, p. 111 = GT'-II, p. 245 = GT'-III, p. 3: "Եւ թէ որպէս վասն
խստութեան ձմերայնույս և փքայոյզ լինելոյ, արգելեալ եղէ ի սրբոյ Մկրտչի ՅովՀաննու ի
վանս որ յԱրագածու ոտին. և ընկալեալ ես ի ձեռն երանելոյ տեառն Բաբիւլասայ վանից
երէցու."

St. Yovhanēs. Xosrov of Awšakan, Yawitean of Erivard, Dawit' of Erivan, Ismayēl of Gaīni, Yunanēs of Awan, Israyēl of Pałakank', Jojik of Arša-munik', Yovhannēs of the palaces of Artawazd, Abas and Ordeak and Abraham of P'arpi, Mik'ayēl of Ałčik'. Grigorios of Arč, Kozmas of Urd, Mayēn of the other Arč, Yovhanik of Arcap'k', Simon of Darouk', Samot of Bagaran, together with other *vanic' erēc's*, they presented themselves before us and confessed piously ...¹⁴⁵

They are further addressed directly as a distinct group in the *Encyclical Letter* of the kat'olikos Abraham I proclaiming the schism with Iberia in 608/9.¹⁴⁶ Everyone of these dignitaries, whatever his personal ascetic tastes, is clearly associated with a stable foundation which did not exist before, though we do not yet have sufficient information to determine whether these were of the looser "laura" or of the more structured and centralized "coenobial" type. Since those identified in the group just listed come primarily from the patriarchal domain in central Ayrarat, a much larger group must presumably have existed if a wider net were cast over the breadth of Persarmenia.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, the canons of the council of Duin of 644/5 specify that:

iv. The bishops in their own jurisdiction shall assume the care and supervision of the *vank's* and hermitages (*anapatk'*) to look after their light and worship and schools, and with their ministers be nourished and enjoy them by the grace of the saints, but let them seize nothing by force or fraud. Likewise, [they] should look after the hospitals [*tkaranoc'k'*] ... Likewise, the superiors of communities [*vanac' eric'unk'n*] and priests [*k'ahanayk'*] shall be obedient to the *vardapet*. Now if any of the bishops or the priests

¹⁴⁵ *Profession of Faith*, GT'-I, p. 151-152 = GT'-II, p. 298-299: "Եւթն և տասներեք ամի Ապրուէզ Խոսրովու արքայից արքայի, իմ Աբրահամու Հայհոց կաթողիկոսի և աթոռակցաց իմոց... առաջի կացեալ... (եպիսկոպոսունք)... Հանդերձ վանից երիցամբքս այսոքիւք, Աբրահամ սրբոյ կաթողիկէի վանից երեց, Սամուէլ սրբոյ Հոփիսիմէի, Բաբիւլաս սրբոյ Յովհաննու վանաց երէց, Խոսրով Աւշականու, Յաւիտեան Եղիվարդայ, Դաւիթ Երեւանայ, Իսմայէլ Գառնոյ, Յունանէս Աւանի, Իսրայէլ Պաղավանից, Ջոշիկ Արամունից, Յովհանիկ Արտաւազդայ ապարանից, Աբաս և Որդեակ և Աբրահամ Փարպիոյ, Միքայէլ Աղցից, Գրիգորիոս Արճոյ, Կողմաս Ուրդայ, Մայէն միւս Արճոյ, Յովհանիկ Արծափաց, Սիմոն Դարունից, Սամոտ Բագարանի, և այլ վանից երիցամբ Հանդերձ, եկեալ յանդիման մեր զբարեպաշտութիւն խոստովանեցին." = GARSOIAN (1999a), p. 514-515. Cf. NARRATIO, p. 41 §cxī, "τοὺς ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἡγούμενους...".

¹⁴⁶ Abraham I-*Enycl.*, GT'-I, p. 189 = GT'-II, p. 356 = GT'-III, p. 111: "Ամենեցուն կացելոց ընդ այսմ Հովուական իշխանութեամբ, առաջնորդաց եկեղեցւոյ, վանից երիցանց, և քահանայից, և սարկաւազաց, և բնաւ ուխտի եկեղեցւոյ, անապատականաց և մենացելոց, ազատաց և չինականաց, և Համարէն Ժողովրդականաց, արանց և կանանց." cf. GARSOIAN (1999a), p. 576-577.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 280, and nn. 123-124.

should disobediently show contempt to the canons instituted by the forefathers, let him be subject to canonical punishment.

And again go on to condemn:

xii. Any of the *azat* (noble) or *řamik* (non-noble) cavalry, who come somewhere to a village, and leaving the village take up lodging in a *vank'* and under holy roofs, and befoul with singers and dancing girls places dedicated to God, [a deed] which is appalling for Christians to hear, let alone do.¹⁴⁸

The reference here again seems to be to a stable foundation, though its precise form is not specified. Even so, it should be noted that even well into the VIIIth century, narrative sources, such as Ēwond, continue to bewail the looting and destruction of single churches, as before, rather than of monastic communities. Moreover, for all their elaboration and splendor, the construction and endowment by the Armenian nobles of such single churches do not yet carry the connotation of the extensive monastic complexes which will appear by the end of the IXth century,

The patrician Ařot ... from the Bagratid house,... adorned the churches of God with theological study (*vardapetakan aruest*) and a legion of servants (*pařtōnēic' ħmbaworut'eamb*), and he ordered splendid furnishings from his own funds. And he built a church at Dariwnk', in his own domain.¹⁴⁹

Ēwond usually speaks of "the angelic band of the clergy" of priests and doctors (*vardapets*), but not of monks.¹⁵⁰ According to him, the indi-

¹⁴⁸ *Kanonagirk'* II, p. 203-204: "Դ. Եպիսկոպոսք իւրաքանչիւր վիճակաց՝ վանաց և անապատից տեսչութիւն և Հոգաբարձութիւն արասցեն, ի լոյս և ի պաշտաւն և ի դպրոցս Հայել, և իւրեանց պաշտաւնէիւքն կերակրել և վայելել ի սրբոցն շնորհէ, այլ բռնութեամբ և զաւշաքաղութեամբ ինչ մի՝ իշխեսցեն առնել. նոյնպէս և ի տկարանոցս... Նոյնպէս և վանաց երիցունքն և քաւանայքն վարդապետին ի Հնազանդութեան կացցեն: Ապա եթէ ոք յեպիսկոպոսաց կամ ի քաւանայից անՀնազանդեալ արՀամարՀիցէ գեղեալ կանոնս նախաՀարցն՝ ընդ կանոնական պատուՀասիւք եղիցի." Ibid., p. 211-212: "ԺԲ. Ոմանք յազատաց և յոամիկ Հեծելոց Հասանելով ի գեաւղս ուրեք, թողեալ զգեաւղն ի վանսն առնեն զիջավանսն և ի յարկս սրբոցն, և գուսանաւք և վարձակաւք պղծեն զնուիրեալ տեղիսն Աստուծոյ, զոր սոսկալի է քրիստոնէից լսել, թո՛ղ թէ առնել:"

¹⁴⁹ ĒWOND, v, p. 16: "Աչոտ պատրիկ... ի տոհմէ Բագրատունեաց... զարդարէր զեկեղեցիս Աստուծոյ վարդապետական արուեստիւք և պաշտօնէից խմբաւորութեամբ, պատուէր և երևելի սպասուք յիւրոց գանձուց: Եւ շինէր զեկեղեցին Դարիւնից յիւրում ուստանին." Since Dariwnk' was known as a particular domain of the Bagratids, Ařot's action here seems very much in keeping with the similar activities of the Mamikonean and the Kamsarakan in the previous century at Aruč and T'alın. See above, p. 41.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., viii, p. 20: "Հրեշտակակերպ դասուց քաւանայական երաստուց... զվարդապետացն և զպաշտօնէից բարեկարգութիւնս".

vidual to whom the Armenian princes turned for advice is identified as a "hermit (*omn miaynakeac*)".¹⁵¹ We have seen that Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i himself is invariably identified in the *Knik' Hawatoy* as an "ascetic and confessor (*čgnawor ew χostovanoł*)", never as a monk, and his office as "sacristan of St. Gregory" would have precluded his belonging to a separate and stable community, as would his numerous moves from Valaršapat including, among others, to Bjni and Gardman.¹⁵²

The earliest reference to an ordered community living under the Basilian rule comes from Asolik, writing ca. A.D. 1000, concerning the foundation of the future kat'olikos Maštoc' (898-899).¹⁵³ At the beginning of the Xth century, the kat'olikos Yovhannēs the Historian still speaks of having visited a community of hermits on mount Sepuh so that references to monks supporting Mayragomec'i in his opposition to Ezr, need be nothing more than the reflection of institutions existing in a later period.¹⁵⁴ Nothing is said about monasteries or monks in the disciplinary canons which appertain to the council of 719, and the opening one is addressed to the "bishops or priests or deacons or whoever belongs to the Church", without reference to any regular branch of the clergy.¹⁵⁵ Consequently, while a trend toward the great intellectual centers of late mediæval Armenia does manifest itself in the VIth and more likely the VIIth century, which appears to be the transition period from the earlier eremitic tradition to more stable foundations as part of the growing organization of the Church, we still do not have the evidence needed to trace any of the later foundations directly back to this period or to identify their prototypes. Hence, the most that is warranted to say on the basis of our present information is that the Interregnum was a crucial period

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁵² See above, n. 89, 97.

¹⁵³ ASOLIK, III.iii, p. 160: "... այրն Աստուծոյ Մաշտոց: Սա էր Հայրենեօք յԱրագածոտն գաւառէ... և ի ծովուն Գեղամայ զկղզին Սևանայ բնակութիւն իւր արարեալ՝ շինէ զեկեղեցին ի նմա, որ Առաքեալս անուանի: Յոր միացեալ ժողովեցան եղբարց բազմութիւն, կանոնադրութեան սահմանաւ սրբոյն Բարսղի."

¹⁵⁴ YK, IV, p. 359: "Տեսի անդ ի ծործորս և յամուրս քարանձաւաց բնակեալ՝ արս կուսակրօնս, խարազնազգեսցս, գետնախշտիս, բոկագնացս, խոշորաճաշակս, մշտամոռնչ յաղօթս և յաղերսայի պաղատանս, աշակերտք արդար վաստակոց, և ծնունդք առաքինութեան: Եւ սոքա ոչ թերեւս միախուռն ի միասին բնակեալք, այլ ցան և ցիր առ ստորոտով լերինն կալեալ կայանս, որք և բազմաշխատ քրտամբք երկոց իւրաքանչիւրոք զՀարկաւոր պէտս մարմնոց վճարէին:" = YK-M, p. 199.

¹⁵⁵ YÖ, p. 56/7, Canon i: "Եպիսկոպոս կամ քահանայ կամ սարկաւազ կամ ո'վ և իցէ յուխտէ յեկեղեցոյն."

of transition leading to the development of full grown Armenian monasticism. In fact, what indications we do possess show that some form of coenobial institutions must have been sufficiently well rooted in this earlier epoch to survive, be it only as a traditional memory, while many lay perforce dormant, during the century of greater intolerance and persecution which was heralded by the accession of the Abbasid dynasty in 750, and to allow them to burst forth into the rapid, vigorous and widespread expansion which marks the very beginning of the Bagratid period.

Hence the Church in all its aspects was the sphere in which the importance of the Interregnum manifested itself particularly. First laying down and elaborating the institutions indispensable for the intellectual and spiritual survival and development of the future, in what may be called a growing protomonastic development which prefigured the great centers of learning of the High Middle Ages, as well as in the systematization of ecclesiastical discipline and of the liturgy, which together with her doctrinal definitions claimed the attention of Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i and of his circle.¹⁵⁶ Most of all, by the opening of the VIIIth century, the Church had emerged clearly as the dominant Armenian institution replacing the non-existent state. It had laid down the bases of its liturgy and defined its own dogmatic position.

¹⁵⁶ YŌ, p. 180/181-312/313. On the problems of the liturgical works attributed to Yovhannēs Ōjnec'i, see FINDIKYAN (2004), p. 231-279, especially, 277-279, and p. 219, n.1. On the additional question of the Armenian Church's claim to apostolicity by the elaboration of the cult of Saint Bartholomew in the VIIIth century, attested by the *Narratio* to supplement the earlier tradition of St. Thaddeus, already recorded in the *Epic Histories*, see VAN ESBROECK (1983) and RUSSELL (1986). See also *supra* n. 124.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARMENIAN IDENTITY

At the very beginning of this study, we observed that the Armenian lands in the earliest Christian period did not form a single political or administrative entity but were subdivided into three separate units.¹ Another tripartite characterization for this period can be found in the main Armenian source for the IVth century, the late Vth century anonymous *Buzandarank'*, or *Epic Histories*. The compiler of this work refers at different times to 1) the *Ašxarh Hayoc'*, a term which he seems to use not only for the "country" of Armenia but more specifically for its Arsacid "realm"; 2) the *erkir Hayoc'*, the "land" of Armenia, which need not necessarily coincide with the former; and finally 3) the *erkir Haykazean lezui*, the "land of Armenian tongue or speech", which seems to apply to yet another entity.²

This last —and least— definite qualification seems to have been in existence, or at least been understood, as late as the beginning of the VIIth century and to have lain at the back of kat'olikos Abraham I's outraged rejection of the Iberian kat'olikos Kiwrion's seemingly unaggressive reply to his accusation that the Armenian liturgy of Saint Šušanik performed in the city of C'urtaw in the border Armeno-Iberian region of Gugark' had been abolished:

I hear that you have replaced the liturgy for saint Šušanik which was instituted in the Armenian tongue, [an action] of yours [that] seems to us of mortal dimension and of the very worst.³

According to Kiwrion's mild reply, however, the Armenian liturgy had not been abolished, but the liturgy at C'urtaw was being performed in both Armenian and Georgian:

As to what has been written ... that the liturgy in the Armenian language has been altered. Our liturgy has not been replaced, but since the bishop

¹ Vide supra, p. 1-2.

² BP-G, p. 510, 524, s.v. Cf. MX, II.iii, viii, p. 105, 112-113 = MK, p. 131, 137.

³ Abraham-I, GT'-I, p. 164 = GT'-II, p. 316-317: "... և զպաշտանն Հայերէն սրբոյ Շուշանկան զկարգաւորեալն՝ լսեմ թէ ի բաց փոխեցէք: Մեզ մահուչափ և ևս չարագոյն թուեցաւ գործդ այդ." Cf. also GARSOLAN (1999a), p. 349, 548, and p. 349, n. 180.

knows both Georgian and likewise Armenian letters, he performs the liturgy in both languages.⁴

Nevertheless, Abraham's accusation was further reiterated by the bishop of C'urtaw, who had sought refuge in Armenia from his Iberian superior:

It is evident that they have altered the liturgy. And the Nestorian pseudo-bishop whom they have installed does not even know Georgian letters, as would have been proper, let alone Armenian ones. And this too is evident.⁵

As a result, Kiwrion's action was held to be serious enough to be cited as one of the three charges which led to his formal anathema by Abraham I:

Because ... he has insolently abolished the liturgy of saint Šušanik established in Armenian in opposition to us. ... Therefore, ... we order that the earliest decree (*sahman*) of our doctors which has struck the Romans ... be extended to the Iberians as well, if they do not return to the truth ...⁶

and likewise to have become a cause for concern for the local secular representative of the king of kings, his favourite prince Smbat Bagratuni:

But I have heard other news from laymen and scarcely believed. But we heard [this] from the trusty bishop of C'urtaw who is here and were greatly troubled. For although there are ties of blood and of kinship between the nobility of our country and of yours, that which [exists] for us like the solidity and security of a pact, that is, the holy martyrdom founded in your honoured church of C'urtaw and your service and your regulations were in Armenian amongst you. Your alteration [of this] has thrust hostility [between us].⁷

⁴ K-I = GT'-I, p. 166 = GT'-II, p. 320 = GT'-III, p. 71: "Եւ որ գրեալ էր թէ... զպաշտանն Հայերէն ի բաց փոխեալ է. մեր պաշտանն չէ փոխեալ: Բայց զի որ եպիսկոպոսն եղև՝ վրացի ուսումն գիտէ և Հայ նոյնպէս, և երկոքունք դպրութեամբք պաշտանն կատարի." Cf. also GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 349-351, 550, 581, and p. 350, n. 182, 185. Kiwrion gives the same explanation to Smbat, GT'-II, p. 326: "Բայց զի եպիսկոպոսն զոր արարաք՝ Վրացի և Հայ դպրութիւն զոյգ գիտէ և զպաշտան կատարէ երկոքունք դպրութեամբքն: Բայց իմ սրտի պակասութիւն մի, և մեծ է, մարդոյ միոյ բանից Հաւատալ ձեզ՝ որ իւր զլսոյ չէր Հաւատարիմ."

⁵ MC-II, GT'-I, p. 173 = GT'-II, p. 329: "Եւ զպաշտանն զի փոխեցին յայտ է. և զչեպիսկոպոսն Նեստորական զոր արարին, դպրութիւն զի և վրացերէն չգիտէ՝ որպէս արժան է. թո՛ղ թէ Հայերէն, և այն յայտ է." Cf. GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 350.

⁶ GT'-I, p. 194 = GT'-II, p. 363: "Քանզի... զպաշտանն Հայերէն զոր սրբոյն Շուշանկան էր կարգաւորեալ, Հակառակ մեզ խրոխտացեալ ի բաց փոխեաց.... Վասն որոյ և զյառաջագոյն սաՀմանն վարդապետացն մերոց, զոր ի վերայ Հոռոմին Հատին,... թէ ոչ դարձցին ի ճմարիտն մեք զնոյն ի վերայ Վրաց Հրամայեցաք". Cf. GARSOÏAN (1999a), p. 359, 581-582, and p. 350, n. 185.

⁷ Smbat-I, GT'-I, p. 168-169 = GT'-II, p. 323-324 = GT'-III, p. 75: "Բայց է և ինչ լուր

Like the other marchlands of Armenia, the precise status of the Ibero-Armenian northern march of Gugark' vis-à-vis the Arsacid kingdom remains ambiguous,⁸ but it appears to have lain within the limits of the "land of Armenian speech" from which it could not be removed with impunity. The *Encyclical Letter* of bishop Movsēs of C'urtaw is explicitly directed

To the heirs of the Heavenly kingdom... to the *Armenian speaking* authorities of the Church of C'urtaw...

as is the answering *Encyclical* of the Armenian *locum tenens* Vrt'anēs K'ertol:

To the orthodox true lovers of holiness, and to the superiors of communities (*vanic' eric'unk'*) and village priests, to the nobles and peasants, to the old and the young, and in general to *all the people of your land of Armenian tongue*, who are under the jurisdiction of the Church of C'urtaw.⁹

According to these criteria, as under the earlier political and administrative ones, "Armenia" was not yet conceived as a single and indivisible entity.

To be sure, the various above-mentioned early subdivisions were superseded and altered both by the partition, soon followed by the disappearance of the Armenian kingdom at the beginning of the Vth century, and by the later administrative reorganizations of Imperial Armenia by Justinian and

որ յաշխարհականաց լուայ և սակաւ ինչ Հաւատացի: Իսկ Հաւաստի յեպիսկոպոսէս Յուրտաւայ որ աստս է՝ լուաք և կարի դժուարացաք, քանզի մեր և այդ աշխարհի ազատ որերոյ թէպէտ արին և Հարազատութիւն ի միջի կայր, բայց Հաստատութիւն և վստաՀ լինել մեզ որպէս յերդումն ինչ. ա՛յդ սուրբ վկայարան որ ի Յուրտաւ պատուական եկեղեցիդ Հաստատեցաւ, և պաշտանդ և կարգդ Հայերէն ի ձեր միջի էր, և փոխելդ թշնամութիւն ի մէջ արկանէ." Cf. GARSOIAN.(1999a), p. 553.

⁸ BP-G, p. 416-417, 466, s.v. The *bdeašx*, or "marcher-lord", Ašušay, who ruled this march at the time of the great Armenian rebellion of 450/1 is described by the historian Łazar P'arpec'i as an ally of Vardan Mamikonean, his kinsman by marriage and the protector of the children of the fallen Armenian magnates who were educated at his court, but not as his subordinate or compatriot, and he is characterized as being, "the *bdeašx* from Georgia (յաշխարհէն վրաց՝ բդեշխն Աշուշայ)," as distinct from "the greatest Armenian nobility (մեծամեծ աւագանւոյն Հայոց)," ŁP', I.xxv, xxviii, xxxi; III.lix, lxii, p. 47, 55, 59, 107, 110-111 = ŁP'-T, p. 85-86, 95, 100, 158, 162-163.

⁹ GT'-I, p. 113 = GT'-II, p. 248: "Ի ժառանգութիւն երկնից վիճակեալք... հայալեզու իւթանութեանդ Յուրտաւայ եկեղեցւոյ ..." (emphasis mine) and this is the community that answers and supports him, *ibid.*, I p. 128-129 = II, p. 268-269. Likewise Vrt'anēs, *ibid.*, I, p. 130 = II, p. 270: "Սրբասէր ուղղափառաց և ճշմարտից, և վանից երիցանց, և գեղջ քահանայից, ազատաց և շինականաց, ծերոց և տղայոց, և Համարէն ամենայն ժողովրդականաց, հայալեզու աւխարիացի, որ էիդ ընդ իւթանութեամբ եկեղեցւոյն Յուրտաւայ..." (emphasis mine) = GARSOIAN (1999a), p. 531.

Maurice in the VIth. However, one of the questions which has rarely been given sufficient attention is the reality or continuing effectiveness of the late fourth century north-south frontier, defined as running from Theodosiupolis, its northern anchor point, to the vicinity of Dara in Mesopotamia and purporting to separate Byzantine from Sasanian Armenia, that had presumably been created as a result of the so-called Peace of Ekeleac'.¹⁰ In fact, continuous evidence points from the beginning to the porous nature of the border.¹¹ Diplomatic relations were maintained between the two super-powers, official and semi-official missions to announce new accessions and negotiate truces crossed back and forth, as did merchants and students; Christian communities on either side kept contact with each other.¹² At the time of the great rebellion in the middle of the Vth century, the discouraged Armenian *sparapet*, Vardan Mamikonean, might speak of seeking refuge in the "empire of the Greeks (*išḫanut'eann Yunac'*)", as of going to a "foreign land (*yōtarut'iwn*)",¹³ but at the same time the bishop of Mananati, whose see lay on the imperial side of the presumed border, came to join his colleagues at the council of Artasat that defied the order of the Persian court.¹⁴ From Procopius we know that the frontier created at the end of the IVth century, was not watertight in his own time:

As one goes from Kitharizon to Theodosiupolis and the other Armenia the land is called Chorzane ... not being marked off from the Persian territory by the water of any lake or by any river's stream or by a wall of mountains ... the two frontiers are indistinct. So the inhabitants of this region, whether subjects of the Romans or of the Persians, have no fear of each other, nor do they give one another any occasion to apprehend an attack, but they even intermarry and hold a common market for their produce and together share the labours of farming.¹⁵

¹⁰ For the Byzantino-Persian frontier of ca. 387, see ADONTZ (1970), p. 7-24.

¹¹ The question of a fixed frontier has been debated by scholars of late, see GREATREX (2007a), p. 105-106, 155, and notes *ad loc.*

¹² GARSOĬAN (2004), p. 333-334.

¹³ ŁP', II.xxx, p. 57, "qḥwł jowwriḥrḥw" = ŁP'-T, p. 97.

¹⁴ Ibid., II.xxiii, p. 44-45 = ŁP'-T, p. 82.

¹⁵ PROC., *Aed.*, III.iii.8-9: "Ἐκ δὲ Κιθαρίζων ἕς τε Θεοδοσιούπολιν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν τὴν ἑτέραν ἰόντι Χορζάνη μὲν ἡ χώρα καλεῖται, ... οὔτε λίμνης τινὸς ὕδατι οὔτε ποταμοῦ ρεῖθρῳ οὔτε ὄρεσι τὴν διόδον ἐν στενῷ εἵργουσι διοριζομένη τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὁρίων αὐταῖς ἀναμιξ κειμένων. ὥστε οἱ ταύτῃ φκημένοι, Ῥωμαίων ἢ Περσῶν ὄντες κατήκοοι. οὔτε τι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δέος ἔχουσιν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις πη ἕς ἐπιβουλὴν εἰσιν ὑποπτοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ γάμους ἀλλήλοις ἐπικηδεύουσι καὶ ἀγορὰν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων συμβάλλονται καὶ τὰ ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπικοινωνοῦνται." = Loeb VII, p. 192/3-194/5.

The gradual weakening of an effective separation between Imperial and Persarmenia was greatly furthered by an important social factor. As we have seen earlier, the Armenian *naxarars* such as the Gnuni — among whom Mžēž I was a Persian *marzpan* of Armenia from 518 to 548, while Mžēž II was *magister militum* of the Byzantine armies in the next century, and a “Mizizios” Gnuni made an unsuccessful bid in Sicily for the imperial throne in 668¹⁶ — or again, prince Smbat Bagratuni “Xosrov Šum”, repeatedly shifted their allegiance back and forth between Byzantium and the Sasanians according to their interests and ambitions.¹⁷ The same families were to be found on either side of the putative frontier. We know from Procopius that descendents of the royal Arsacids pursued careers within the Empire after the fall of the dynasty in Armenia.¹⁸ As late as the VIIth century the Valentinos, who brought about the downfall of Martina after the death of Heraclius and raised Constans II to the throne in 641, was known as an “Arsacid” according

¹⁶ HAnJB, III, p. 329 §3 (Mžēž II), *ibid.*, p. 330 §4 (Mžēž III). TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 205, and n. 234, for the sources; NICHANIAN (2004), p. 458–463, citing the Greek and Armenian sources, pertinently observes, “un Mizizios Gnuni est connu dans la dernière campagne perse d’Héraclius en 628 comme maître des milices d’Arménie. Malgré l’absence d’information sur ce point on peut avancer sans risque qu’il entretenait un lien familial direct avec le Mizizios de 668. La promotion de celui-ci à la très haute charge de comte de l’Opsikion ne répond donc pas aux seules qualités personnelles du dignitaire, mais est liée également à son appartenance à un lignage déjà identifié pour son inscription dans le paysage aristocratique. Le maintien probable de liens attestés en Arménie avec les Mamikonian déjà bien implantés à Byzance, et surtout les réseaux tissés par le lignage Gnuni, au sein de la haute administration, avec la dynastie régnante, ont permis à un autre représentant de cette famille d’accéder à la charge de comte de l’Opsikion, ... Dans un contexte militaire incertain, cette position éminente... a sans doute conduit l’armée... à proclamer Mizizios comme candidat au trône.”; HALDON (1984) p. 179, cf. 359, considers Mizizios II to have been the first count of the Opsikion. For an extensive study of Armenian families in Byzantium, see SETTIPANI (2006), but, though much is known for the later period, e.g., KAZHDAN (1975), a good deal still remains to be done for the period concerning us as a result of the still uncertain state of a number of the sources.

¹⁷ Any attempt to trace the cases of double careers and allegiances of the Armenian nobility or its later integration into the Byzantine hierarchy would be well beyond the intent and scope of this study, much has already been done by NICHANIAN and SETTIPANI, *q.v.* However, even within the limit of the few examples given here, there seems to be little doubt that the great Armenian families had links and pursued careers on either side of the border.

¹⁸ PROC., *Bell. Pers.*, II.xxv, xxxii = Loeb I, p. 276/7–278/9, and *Bell. Vand.* II.xxvii–xxviii = Loeb II, p. 438/9–456/7; JOH. EPH., *De beat.*, XIII, p. 69; PLRE, IIIB, p. 125, 130–131, 641, 643; cf. GARSOÏAN (1998a), p. 64 and n. 49.

to Pseudo-Sebeos.¹⁹ Similarly, the kinsmen of the future royal family of the Bagratids are readily identifiable in Byzantium under the name, "Aspetianoi", derived from the family's hereditary office of *aspet* or "master of the cavalry".²⁰ If we are to accept the hypothesis of Settiani that Heraclius' Italian exarch Isaac or Sahak, known from his inscription at Torcello, was a member of the Kamsarakan family, lords of Širak and Aršarunik' as evidenced by their inscriptions at T'alın and Mren, members of one and the same family were to be found from Armenia in the East to the Far West of the Byzantine empire.²¹ Most important of all

¹⁹ [PS]-SEB, xliv, p. 140-141: "Եւ եղեւ ի մահուանն Երակի թագաւորեաց Կոստանդին որդի նորա, և կարգէ ի վերայ զաւրաց իւրոց զաւրաւարս զՎաղենտինոսն, որ կոչէր Արշակունի: Եւ Հրամայեաց իւրոց երթալ յարեւելս: ... Եւ Վաղենտինի [լուեալ] զգործեցեալ իրս զնայ ի վերայ նորա զաւրու իւրով ի Կոստանդնուպոլիս: Եւ կալեալ զՄարտինէ՝ ... և ապա սպանանէ զնա... Եւ նստուցանէ թագաւոր զԿոստաս զորդի Կոստանդինի, ... Եւ ինքն գումարէ զզաւրսն, և զնայ ընդ արեւելս:" = [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, I, p. 104. This claim is not repeated in the account of JOH. NIK., cxx, p. 196-199. The Arsacid descent of Valentinus is, however, accepted by both the PLRE, IIIB, p. 1354, "Valentinus 5", and TOUMANOFF (1990), p. 89, as well as HAnjB, V, p. 33. According to Howard-Johnston, [PS]-SEB-T/H-J, II, p. 250: "Valentine held no formal military appointment under Constantine III, let alone the supreme command in Asia Minor implied by Sebeos but was a military officer in the entourage of the treasurer Philagrius, who was entrusted with a large sum in cash for distribution as largesse to secure the support of the army in Asia Minor for the dying Constantine's children," but *ibid.*, p. 253-254: "In return for renouncing his attempt to assume the imperial status... he was appointed commander-in-chief of the army (probably *Magister Militum per Orientem*). Cf. NICHANIAN (2004), p. 367 and 442-452, 551, who opts rather for the office of *Comes Obsequii*."

²⁰ PROC., *Bell. Pers.*, II.iii.12-18; cf. GARSOĬAN (1996), p. 230; EAD. (1998a), p. 84 and n. 49. Like his father's, Smbat Xosrov Šum, Varaz-Tiroc' Bagratuni's career took place in both Byzantium and Persia, HAnjB, V, p. 68 §1. Varaz-Tiroc' (Baristerozes), strategos of Armeniakon, together with Michael Laxanodrakon and the Armenians, Artawazd Mamikonean and Tačat Anjewac'i, commanded a Byzantine army in Syria in the campaign of 778, THEO. CONF., I, p. 451 = THEO. CONF.-M., p. 623. Cf. HAnjB, V, p. 68, §5, LEWOND, p. 193, n. 4. Cf. TOUMANOFF (1990), p. 111-113. For the stemma of the Bagratids of the period, see also NICHANIAN (2004), p. 738 §7, who lists Bardas the father of Leo V as a member of the Gnuni family (*ibid.*, §6), as does TOUMANOFF (1990), p. 485, §1-2, rather than as one of the Mamikonean, as his name might have suggested. Still another example of the activity in Byzantium of great Armenian families other than the Mamikonean, Bagratuni and Gnuni, is provided by Vahan Xořxoruni (Baanes) who rebelled against Heraclius in 637 together with Varaz-Tiroc' Bagratuni and Dawit' Saharuni, see NICHANIAN (2004), p. 421-441.

²¹ SETTIPANI (2006), p. 373-376, HAnjB, IV, p. 356 §39, where Sahak is also given as a member of the Kamsarakan family; cf. PLRE, IIIA, p. 625-644, 719-721, "Isaacus 8, patricius et exarchus Italiae"; LORENZETTI (1939), p. 21 and fig. p. 23. SETTIPANI (2006), p. 106-367, traces a great many Armenian families in the Byzantine empire, but many remain highly hypothetical in this early period. See also NICHANIAN (2004).

were the Mamikonean, hereditary grand-marshals of Armenia. As early as the end of the Vth century we are told by Łazar P'arpec'i that the Persian commander feared that the leader of the Armenian rebellion of 482, Vardan Mamikonean's nephew, Vahan

may send to the Armenians in the neighbouring provinces, to the inhabitants of Anjit, Cop'k' or Hašteank', and gain support from them *as his kinsmen*.²²

The long and ultimately tragic career of Mušel Mamikonean sent by Maurice in 598 to command a Byzantine army in Thrace is familiar to his contemporaries.²³

The Mamikonean were still the dominant figures east of the border at the time of the revolt against the Persians of Vardan II in 572, but some settled in Byzantium after its failure, remained on imperial territory and even went on to aspire to the Imperial throne with Philippikos-Bardanes (711-713)²⁴ and Artavasdes the son-in-law of the emperor Leo III,²⁵ whereas their kinsman, Grigor Mamikonean remained in the homeland as Prince of Armenia and founded there the cathedral at Ałuč. Even though increasingly challenged by the growing power of the Bagratids, the Mamikonean continued to play a leading role in Persarmenia until their downfall at the battle of Bagrewand.²⁶

²² ŁP', III.lxxxiv, p. 153-154: "... երկնչիմ, մի' գուցէ ըստ բազմաՀնար իւրոյ իմաստութեանն, առաքեալ ի մերձակայ սաՀմանակից տեղեացս առ Հայ մարդիկդ գաւառին Անձտայ և Կամ Ծոփաց և Հաշտենից, և առեալ ի նոցանէ օգնականս, որպէս յիւրոց ազգականաց' ..." (emphasis added) = ŁP'-T, p. 213. These three districts are specifically listed in the legislation of Justinian, CJ, I.xxix.5, *De officio magistri militum*, whose authority extended over "Magnam Armeniam, quae Interior dicebatur, et gentes, Anzetenam (Anjit) videlicet, Ingilenam, Asthianenam (Hašteank'), Sophenam (Cop'k'), Sophanenam, in qua est Martyropolis, Balabitenam," and again in the emperor's *Novella* xxxi creating four Armenias in 536: "τῶν τε ἔθνῶν ... Τζοφανηνή τε καὶ Ἀνζητηνή, ἡ Τζοφανηνή καὶ Ἀσθιανηνή καὶ Βαλαβιτηνή καλουμένη καὶ ὑπὸ σατράπαις οὖσα." Cf. ADONTZ (1970), p. 25-37, in particular, p. 26, and 2*, 35*, and GARSOÏAN (1998a), p. 240-241.

²³ HAnJB, III, p. 457-459 §12-13, where two Mušels rather than one are postulated; SETTIPANI (2006), p. 138 and n. 1.

²⁴ On Philippikos and the Mamikonean in Byzantium, see BRANDES (1993-1994), where he shows that the traditional view that Vardan II settled in Pergamon stems from a misreading of the text of Agathon the Deacon, AD, p. 899; also the doctoral dissertation of NICHANIAN (2004), p. 482-484 and n. 373. See further the Armenians in the lists of Byzantine dignitaries, p. 736-791, ID. (2010); SETTIPANI (2006), p. 217-219.

²⁵ NICHANIAN (2004), p. 519-552, and cf. SPECK (1981).

²⁶ CANARD (1986), p. 91: "Les Mamikonean ... étaient encore à la fin du VII^e siècle et même dans la première moitié du VIII^e, les féodaux les plus importants du pays". See

Not only were numerous members of *naḫarar* houses repeatedly to be found on either side of the frontier, the same seems to have been true of their domains. The home district of the Bagratuni was Sper in imperial Armenia Interior, but they were also lords of Kogovit farther to the east beyond the border.²⁷ Similarly, the Mamikoneans, lords of Tayk' and Tarōn in the north and south of the plateau, acquired the Church lands of Daranatik' and Ekeḫeac' in Armenia Interior through the marriage of Hamazasp Mamikonean to Sahakanoyš the daughter of Saint Sahak I, the last male descendant of the Illuminator, at his death in 438.²⁸

From all the evidence we possess on the importance in the Armenian social structure of the ties of kinship within a particular house and of its common possessions, it seems impossible that the presence of kinsmen in both camps and of lands on either side of the frontier should have been ignored. It is far more likely that these links served to counteract the divisive thrust of political divisions. Simultaneously, the ambivalence in the loyalty of many of these nobles led them to disregard, insofar as possible, the existence of the arbitrary political division and to erode its significance.²⁹ The demographic composition of the various Armenias, far from differing significantly, was remarkably homogeneous and Armenian was spoken at Melitene as well as at Duin.³⁰ On either side of the Euphrates as well as in much of the Satrapies, an Armenian population seems to have predominated until the implantation of Arab emirates on the Armenian plateau from the beginning of the IXth century.³¹ Even the refortification of the eastern *limes* under Justinian, especially marked by

for the later career of the Mamikonean in their homeland to the Armenian defeat at Bagrewand, GARSOĬAN (1997), I, p. 118, 130, 132-133, and EAD. (2005-2007), p. 39, 41-43. For their final downfall, see TER GHEWONDYAN (1976), p. 21-22, 33-34.

²⁷ CANARD (1986), p. 91: "Outre leur domaine patrimonial, Sper, qui était resté dans la partie byzantine de l'Arménie, dans la partie arabe les Bagratides ... dans la première moitié du VIII^e siècle possédaient ... la province de Kogovit."; ADONTZ (1970), p. 100; TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 202.

²⁸ ADONTZ (1970), p. 100; TOUMANOFF (1963), p. 209; TER GHÉVONDIAN (1986) p. 777.

²⁹ The twin foci in the careers of many Armenian nobles has been noted by SETTIPANT (2006), p. 50: "Pour le Caucase, on voit bien que ... les princes arméniens qui restent attachés à leurs domaines patrimoniaux font néanmoins à chaque génération des carrières plus ou moins longues au sein de l'Empire byzantin."

³⁰ GARSOĬAN (2004), p. 335.

³¹ GARSOĬAN (1992), p. 47-48; EAD. (2004), p. 331-336, 351-352, *et passim*.

the erection of the border fortress of Citharizon on Armenian territory, does not seem to have been successful in sealing off the border to any appreciable degree.³² Subsequently, the effectiveness of the earlier frontier was further compromised by its shift eastward in 591 and the successive campaigns of Xusrō II and Heraclius. Given all these factors leading to a rapprochement of the divided Armenian lands, an intermediary, semi-autonomous border zone distinct from Byzantium or Persia was seemingly coming into existence even before the appearance of the Arabs, and the imprecision of the information concerning this area in both Byzantine and Sasanian documentation argues against the effectiveness of their control over it.³³

Nevertheless, whatever preliminary coalescence of the divided Armenian lands had already taken place up to that time, it was not to be fully achieved until the establishment of Arab dominion over the Armenian plateau and the neighbouring South-Caucasian lands in the second half of the VIIth century. Despite the jeremiads of the native Christian historians, the erasure of any east-west division deriving from the Peace of Ekeleac' and the gathering of the Armenian lands was achieved as the result of the creation, at an imprecise date at the very end of the VIIth century, of a new Arab administrative circumscription to which the conquerors significantly gave the name of "Armīniya", although it spilled over to include neighbouring Eastern Iberia and Caucasian Albania.³⁴

The seeming territorial reduction introduced at this point by the separation from the new province of the southern region of Armenia and particularly of the Satrapies, now joined to the province known as the Djazīrā, did not in fact signify a new or incremental inroad on the territory to be included under the name of Armenia.³⁵ The separate nature of

³² On the eastern *limes*, see *ibid.*, p. 330 and n. 9, and on Citharizon, HOWARD-JOHNSTON (1989).

³³ GARSOĬAN (1998a), p. 240-248; EAD. (2004), p. 339-345.

³⁴ EI, I, p. 634-650; MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 216-217: "Le régime apporté par les Arabes comportait en effet des avantages certains pour les Arméniens. Pour la première fois depuis la fin du IV^e siècle l'ensemble de leur pays, à l'exception des marges méridionales se trouva unifié, sans frontière intérieure imposée par des États étrangers. En outre, les conditions de la domination arabe étaient incontestablement plus légères que celles de tout autre régime antérieur.... Ainsi s'explique l'affirmation de plus en plus nette de l'unité historique et religieuse de l'Arménie qui accompagna ces changements politiques," also p. 223-225.

³⁵ According to TER-GHÉVONDIAN (1986), p. 780, Armīniya and the Djazīrā were in fact united administratively in a single larger conscription: "Tout en constituant une unité

this region had a long history reaching back to late Antiquity where its divergent path was already distinguishable. As early as Hellenistic times, the separation of the kingdom of Sophēnē ruled by Zariadris from that of Armenia ruled by Artaxias, was noted by Strabo³⁶ and Sophanēnē was viewed by Pompey in the last century before the Christian era as a region contiguous but distinct from Armenia. Presumably for this reason, he maintained the distinction between them by assigning the former to Tigran II's son, as against his father's "hereditary domain" of Armenia.³⁷ By the end of the Vth century A.D., the *Laterculus Polemii Silvii*, composed in 448 during the consulship of Zeno and Posthumius, but going back, in the opinion of Mommsen, to an original dating from A.D. 386 in the reign of Diocletian, put the Satrapy of Sophanēnē in the Diocese of Orient as an unit separate from the Roman Empire's Armenian lands.³⁸ The administrative reform of Justinian in 536 included all the Satrapies in a separate Armenia IV,³⁹ a circumscription further subdivided by the presence of an "other Armenia IV", with Dadimon as metropolis, to which Sophēnē was attributed.⁴⁰ Of particular significance here is George of Cyprus' identification of Upper Mesopotamia with Armenia IV.⁴¹ Thus, irrespective of their degree of autonomy, which does not concern us directly here, the Satrapies do not seem to have been considered administratively as an integral part of Armenia proper.⁴²

administrative des plus stables, l'Armīniya entrant dans la vice-royauté du nord, avec l'Atropatène (Adharbaydjān) et le Djazīra".

³⁶ STRABO, XI.xiv.5, p. 322/3-324/5: "Ἰστοροῦσι δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν, μικρὰν πρότερον οὖσαν, αὐξηθῆναι διὰ τῶν περὶ Ἀρταξίαν καὶ Ζαριάδριν ... βασιλεύσαντες ... ὁ μὲν τῆς Σωφηνῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀκισηνῆς καὶ Ὀδομαντίδος καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, ὁ δὲ τῆς περὶ Ἀρτάξατα." The probable kinship between Artaxias and Zartadris and their descent from the Armenian Orontid dynasty did not seem to affect the distinction of their two realms.

³⁷ CD, XXXVI.liii: "...διακούσας αὐτῶν [Tigran II] τῷ μὲν πρεσβυτέρῳ τὴν πατρίαν [Armenia] ... ἡ Σωφανηνὴ χώρα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις πρόσφορος οὐ σμικρὰ ... τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν Σωφανηνὴν μόνην ἀπένειμε." = Loeb III, p. 88/9-90/1. Cf. GARSOÏAN (1998), p. 261.

³⁸ *Lat. Pol Silv.*, VIII.11, p. 258-259.

³⁹ CJ, I.xxix.5, and *Novella*, xxxi, 1. *Vide supra*, n. 22, for the texts.

⁴⁰ GEORG. CYP., p. 48-49, ll.948-949, and 958: "Ἐπαρχία Δ' Ἀρμενίας ἄλλης ... κλίμα Σοφήνης". Cf. GARSOÏAN (1998), p. 248, n. 41.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46, ll. 8-9: "Ἐπαρχία Μεσοποταμίας ἄνω ἦτοι Δ' Ἀρμενίας."

⁴² However, the *Armenian Geography*, expressing the Armenian point of view, included some of them as part of Armenia IV as the second component part of its Greater Armenia, see below, p. 119.

The isolation of the southern tier by these various administrative reforms can usually be traced in the Church as well. Even in the mid-Vth century, both at Chalcedon and in their answer to the *Encyclical Letter* of the Emperor Leo I in 458 demanding their adhesion to the decisions of the council, the bishops of the Satrapies signed as "bishops of Mesopotamia". They were, in fact, suffragans of the Metropolitan of Amida in Mesopotamia rather than of a clearly Armenian see.⁴³ Even earlier, the *Epic Histories* of the late Vth century underscored the illegitimate nature of the consecration of Č'unak, the candidate chosen by king Aršak II to replace the legitimate Gregorid kat'olikos, Saint Nersēs I, by spelling out that

The king gave the order to summon all the bishops of the realm of Armenia so that they would come to ordain Č'unak to the kat'olike of Armenia. But not a single one of them agreed to come except only for the bishops of Ałjnik' and Korduk' [i.e., of the Satrapies of Arzanene and Corduene], who came and ordained Č'unak in accordance with the command of the king.⁴⁴

The *List* of episcopopal precedences given in the xxi canon of the organizing council of the Persian State Church, held at Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410, includes the bishops from the Armenian Satrapies among the sees of the Persian State Church: some as suffragans of the Metropolitan see of Nisibis or Bēt Arabayē, namely the Satrapal sees of Syriac - Bēt Arzūn, Bēt Moksāyē, Bēt Qardū, Bēt Zabdaī, Bēt Rahimaī (whose Armenian name is not attested, Latin - Rehimēnē) = Armenian Ałjnik', Mekk', Korduk', Cawdek' and others, as suffragans of the Metropolitan see of Arbela/Adiabēnē or Hedayab, namely Syriac - Dasn and Bēt Mahqert = Armenian - Dasn/Dasnrē and Mahkertun.⁴⁵ The titulars of these sees normally made their appearance together with their metropolitans at the councils of the Church of Persia and not at those of Armenia.⁴⁶ In short,

⁴³ "Ἐπαρχία Μεσοποταμίας"; GARSOIAN (1988), p. 272-277; EAD. (1998a), p. 259-260, and p. 259, n. 97.

⁴⁴ BP. IV.xv, p. 132: "Ապա Հրաման տայր թագաւորն՝ կոչել զամենայն եպիսկոպոս Հայոց աշխարհին, զի եկեսցեն ձեռնադրեսցեն զՉունակն ի կաթողիկոսութեան Հայոց: Եւ ոչ մի ոք ոչ Հաւանեաց զալ. բայց միայն Աղծնեաց և Կորդուաց եպիսկոպոսք եկին, և զՉունակն ձեռնադրեցին ի կաթողիկոսութիւն ըստ Հրանանի թագաւորին:" = BP-G, p. 146.

⁴⁵ *Syn. Or.*, p. 272: "Le premier et principal siège est celui de Séleucie et Ctésiphon ... Ensuite vient le siège de Nisibe, Arzôn, de Qardou, de Beit Zabdai, de Beit Rahimai, de Beit Môksayê, et des évêques qui s'y trouvent. ... Ensuite vient le siège d'Arbèle, et l'évêque qui l'occupe est métropolitain de Beit Nouhadra, de Beit Bagaš, de Beit Dasen, de Ramônin, de Beit Mahqart, de Dabarinôs? ..."

⁴⁶ For a more detailed analysis of the presence of Satrapal bishops at Persian councils

long before the apparition of the Arabs and of their creation of the new province of Armīniya, the southern tier of territories already seems not to have been viewed administratively as an integral part of what was held to be Armenia. Consequently, it is in the Interregnum and not before, that Armenia, minus its long divergent southern portion, appears as a single unit replacing the earlier tripartite or two-fold divisions of the plateau.

This *de facto* transformation of the earlier divided pattern into a single unit takes on a further, if less obvious, dimension through its reflection in a document of particular importance dating from the VIIth century that we already had the occasion to mention as part of the scientific aspect of the period, namely the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, or *Armenian Geography*. As a document in keeping with the learning of its presumed author, the great mathematician and cosmographer Anania Širakac'i, or of the period as a whole, it is a scientific document displaying first of all a familiarity with the scholarship of the Hellenistic period and particularly with the lost IVth century A.D. *Geography* of Pappus of Alexandria, which appears to have been its most important source.⁴⁷ At the same time, it provides one of the rare records for the quadripartite administrative-military division of the later Sasanian realm:

Persia is divided into four parts as follows:

- i) *K'usti Xorbaran*, i.e. the Western region ...
- ii) *K'usti Nemtož*, i.e. the 'Meridional' region, that is, the South ...
- iii) *K'usti Xorasan*, i.e., the 'Eastern region' ...
- iv) *K'usti Kapkoh*, i.e. the region of the Caucasus Mountains ...⁴⁸

except for the bishop of Mahkert-tun who, although attested in the Episcopal List of the council of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410, does not seem to have been present at any council, and most curiously, the bishop of Mekk', who seems to have vacillated between Persia and Armenia, see GARSOĬAN (1992), p. 41-45, 51-61. In a few cases during the Umayyad period, occasional southern bishops came to Armenian councils, this is particularly interesting in the case of the Armeno-Syrian council of Manazkert in 725/6, held in a city just north of Lake Van. On this occasion, insofar as we can trust the surviving Syriac version of its *Acts*, were present the southern bishops of Amatunik', Rštunik', Arcrunik, Arzon/Aljnik', and a representative of Sophene, MSS II, p. 496-500. Such a case supports the hypothesis that ecclesiastical requirements transcended political regulations.

⁴⁷ HEWSEN (1992), p. 1, 7-15.

⁴⁸ AŠX, xxix: "Պարսից աշխարհ ընդ չորս բաժանի այսպէս. Քուստի իորասան [sic], որ է կողմն արեւմտայ... Քուստի Նմոջ որ է կողմն միջօրեայ որ է Հարաւ... Քուստի իորասան, որ է կողմն արեւելից... Քուստի Կապկոհ, որ է կողմն կաւկասոս լեռանց"; AŠX, p. 40/53; HEWSEN (1992), p. 72, and p. 226, n. 2, where he accepts Marquart's correction, Xorbaran for the obvious lapsus Xorasan in the text.

which was insufficiently attested until Rika Gyselen's publication of the seals supporting its existence.⁴⁹ The accuracy of its learning is not, however, our only or even our primary concern here.

As has long been observed, the fifteen regions attributed to the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* have no chronological co-existence and the curious combination of accuracy and misinformation with which they are described makes this incongruity all the more evident:

Greater Armenia is comprised of fifteen lands which are: first, Upper Armenia, i.e. the city of Karin; second, Fourth Armenia; third, *Ałjnik'*, along the River Tigris; fourth *Taruberan*, i.e., *Tarawn*; fifth *Mogk'* [sic] by Assyria (Asorestan); sixth, *Korčēk*; seventh, *Parskahayk'*, by Atropatene (Atrpatakan); eighth, *Vaspurakan*, northwest of it; ninth, *Siwnik'*, along the Arax; tenth, *Arjax* [sic], which lies beyond it; eleventh [the region of] the city of *P'aytakaran*, [extending] to the shore of the Caspian west of the Arax; twelfth, the land of the *Utians* bordering on Albania and the River Kur; thirteenth, *Gugark'* by Iberia; fourteenth, *Tayk'* by *Eger*; and fifteenth, *Ararat* [sic], in the midst of the rest.⁵⁰

From the first glance it is evident that the Greater Armenia being described in the *Geography* is far greater than the Persarmenia beyond the Euphrates resultant from the partition of ca. 387, and the disappearance of the native Arsacid dynasty in 428, since it is included within it as its ninth component part. In fact the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* makes no distinction between Persian and Byzantine areas nor hints at any division within the Armenian lands, either the one established in the late IVth century or the subsequent one of 591.⁵¹ It includes in its Greater Armenia the impe-

⁴⁹ GYSELEN (2001).

⁵⁰ HEWSEN (1992), p. 59; AŠX, p. 29: “Ունին Մեծ Հայք չորս զիւրե գաւառս Հնգետասան, որք են այսք:

Առաջին աշխարհ Բարձր Հայք, այսինքն Կարնոյ քաղաք. երկրորդ աշխարհ Զորրորդ Հայք, երրորդ՝ Աղձնիք առ Տիգրիս գետով, չորրորդ՝ Տարուբերան որ է Տարօն, Հինգերորդ՝ Մոգք որ առ Ատրեստանեաւ. վեցերորդ աշխարհ՝ Կորճէք. եօթներորդ աշխարհ՝ Պարսկահայք, որ առ Ատրպատականիւք. ութերորդ աշխարհ՝ Վասպուրական, որ ըստ մտից Հիւսիսոյ նորա է. իններորդ աշխարհ Սիւնիք՝ որ առ Երասխաւ, տասներորդ՝ Արձախ որ յերի նորա կայ. մետասաներորդ աշխարհ՝ Փայտակարան քաղաքով որ առ Եգերբն Կասբից, ի մոտս Երասխայ. երկուտասաներորդ աշխարհ՝ Ուտէացոց, որ առ Աղուանիւք և Կուր գետով. երեքտասաներորդ աշխարհ՝ Գուգարք՝ որ առ Վրօք. չորեքտասաներորդ աշխարհ՝ Տայք, որ առ Եգերբ. Հնգետասաներորդ աշխարհ՝ Արարատ, ի մեջ նոցա:” It is not the purpose of this study to give a detailed analysis of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, for which see HEWSEN, *op. cit.*, but merely to point out a few of its territorial and chronological problems. The lack of coherence of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* is also noted by MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 217: “Conçue intellectuellement cette unité n'avait de réelle existence que sur le plan religieux”.

⁵¹ If, as is now generally accepted, the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* is to be attributed to Anania Širakac'i, it must have been composed before his death, ca. 670 or 685, well before the

rial territories of Upper Armenia, with the districts of Sper, Karin, Derjan, Mananali, as well as the patriarchal lands of Ekeleac' and Daranatik',⁵² alongside the lands of Persarmenia. It includes the city of Melitene, the metropolis of the Roman province of Armenia II in which the XII legion Fulminata was stationed, even though it is associated here with Armenia IV.⁵³ Even more curiously, the description of Greater Armenia spills over in the direction of Eastern Iberia, Caucasian Albania and the Caspian shore, though in these cases the author of the *Aṣḫarhac'oyc'* does concede that, as in the case of Gugark', "these [districts] have been taken from the Armenians by the Iberians";⁵⁴ likewise in the case of Arc'aḡ and Utik', "All these [districts] the Albanians have taken from the Armenians".⁵⁵ Furthermore, twelve districts, "which today belong to Atropatēnē [Atrpatakan]", are assigned by him to P'aytakaran.⁵⁶ In other words, territories once Armenian are held to remain part of Greater Armenia even though in reality they have been lost to neighbouring powers. Moreover, the southern territorial units, which we have seen gradually diverging from the rest of the Armenian lands are also given as part of Greater Armenia, namely two of the southern marches of Arsacid Armenia: Ałjnik' and Korčēk' together with the northern one of Gugark', though only the last is attested after the disappearance of the Arsacid monarchy at the beginning of the Vth century and it is attributed to

territorial reorganization attendant upon the creation by the Caliphate of the new province of Arminiya in the last decade of the seventh century, and consequently cannot reflect this administrative circumscription. According to HEWSEN (1992), p. 149, n. 2: "our author proceeds to describe Armenia as he interpreted it to have existed prior to the loss of its borderlands after the Roman-Persian partition of c. 387 ... he is not concerned with the principalities of his own time or of the period prior to 387. Rather he is listing the fundamental territorial units of the country." Even this, as we shall see, seems to be something of an oversimplification.

⁵² AṣX, p. 29: "Արդ ունի առաջին աշխարհ... Դարանաղի, Աղիւն, Մզուր, Եկեղեց, Մանանաղի, Դերջան, Սպեր, Շաղգամի, Կարին," map, p. 61.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 30: "Աշխարհ Հայոց. Չորրորդ Հայք... Մելտինէ քաղաքաւ սաՀմանի ըստ մտից"; map, p. 61A; *Not. Dig., Or.*, xxxviii.10, 14, p. 83-84: "Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Armeniae: ... Praefectus legionis duodecimae fulminatae, Melitene."

⁵⁴ AṣX, p. 34-35: "Գուգարք... Ունին արդ Վիրք Հանեալ ի Հայոց"; HEWSEN (1992), p. 65, and map, p. 68.

⁵⁵ AṣX, p. 33: "Արցախ... զայս ամենայն Աղուանք ունին Հանեալ ի Հայոց... Ուտի... ունի գաւառս զոր Աղուանք ունին եւթն"; HEWSEN (1992), p. 65, and map, p. 67.

⁵⁶ AṣX, p. 33: "Փայտակարան... ունի... գաւառս ունի երկուսասան, զոր այժմ Ատրպատական ունի"; HEWSEN (1992), p. 63A.

Iberia by Łazar P'arpec'i.⁵⁷ Similarly, the southern district of Mokk' is given as one of the component districts making up Greater Armenia, and finally some of the Satrapies, namely, Hašteank'/Asthanēnē, Copk'/Sophēnē and Anjit'/Anzitēnē appear within the *ašxarh* of Fourth Armenia, in spite of the equivocal political status of these principalities as intrinsic component parts of Armenia.⁵⁸

If the haphazard territorial distribution of Greater Armenia in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* presents a number of problems, the same is true of its chronological parameters which span several centuries. As Hewsen observed in his study of the document, "... his [the author's] description is very inaccurate for he has taken larger territorial units of his own time and projected them back into the past adding them to other larger territorial units which had existed in the past but no longer did so at the time that he was writing. These larger units were in fact of different origins and different natures, and at no period did more than eight of them exist at the same time."⁵⁹

Side by side we find listed here: Armenia Minor, a unit antedating its division in the IVth century into the Roman provinces of Armenia I and II,⁶⁰ the Arsacid marches mentioned above, Fourth Armenia which was

⁵⁷ AŠX, p. 30, 32, 34-35: "iii. Աշխարհ Աղծնիք... vi. Կործէք... xiv. Գուգարք"; HEWSEN (1992), p. 59, 63, 65, and maps, p. 62, 64, 68; *vide supra*, n. 8, for Łazar P'arpec'i.

⁵⁸ AŠX, p. 30; HEWSEN (1992), p. 59, and map, p. 61A.

⁵⁹ HEWSEN (1992), p. 149; ID. (1997b), I, p. 15: "Traditionally, Greater Armenia consisted of 'fifteen provinces' ... While all of these 'provinces' existed at one time or another, they never existed all at once, and most had different origins and organizations as well. Siunik and Mokk' ... were two separate principalities, while Fourth Armenia ... consisted of five Armenian principalities, composed of six separate districts that, acquired by the Romans in 298[299], were reorganized into a single Byzantine province in 536. Gugark was a military zone organized to protect Armenia from invasions from the north. Ayrarat originally consisted of the royal domain in the center of the country. Nine of these districts were lost in 387, most of them forever; three others — Vaspurakan, Turuberan and Tayk' — emerged only after the Byzantine-Persian partition of 591, when the districts which they comprised passed under Byzantine control. Paytarakan, a completely alien land, left the Armenian orbit in 387, as did Kordjaik, originally the kingdom of Gordyene, a foreign state that had belonged to Armenia for only about 250 years ..."

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 59A, where Lesser Armenia is mentioned in the shorter recension of the *Geography*, though not in the longer one, cf. p. 59, where this toponym occurs only with reference to Armenia IV, AŠX, p. 30: "[Եփրատ] երթալով զմոխք՝ ելանէ ի սահմանս Փոքր Հայոց, յեկից Մելիտինէ." As observed by HEWSEN (1997b), p. 16: "Lesser Armenia (Pokr Hayk) ... as far as we can tell, was never a part of the kingdom of Greater Armenia but always formed a separate Armenian state of its own. ... Annexed by the Romans in A.D. 72, Lesser Armenia remained a part of the Romano-Byzantine Empire for 1000

a creation of the Justinianic reform of 536,⁶¹ and the districts of Turuberan and Vaspurakan, that do not ante-date the new territorial reorganization brought about by the frontier shift of 591.⁶² In other words, the Greater Armenia described in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, far from being the accurate account we might be led to expect from the other parts of the world given its date and sources, or indeed from the detailing of this Armenia's various subdivisions, is an imaginary construct corresponding to no historical period. In it are grouped together all the territories which at any time had been, or were still, considered to be part of a Greater Armenia, whether or not this corresponded to any historical reality. What is still more significant, the Greater Armenia of the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* implies that, in spite of its fifteen component regions, no internal divisions, be they east-west or north-south, split it asunder, and that historical transformations should not be accepted as meaningful alterations of its core. On the contrary, in its own configuration this Greater Armenia reflects the new concept now achieved that Armenia was one single, indivisible entity, endowed with an indelible identity unaffected by considerations of time or place, nor yet as the results of political vicissitudes.⁶³

years, following its own line of development quite different from that of Greater Armenia." *Armenia minor* had been subdivided into two regular Roman provinces under Theodosius the Great, GARSOĬAN (1997), p. 93.

⁶¹ See above, Prologue, n. 9.

⁶² HEWSEN (1992), p. iv and viii, 62, and map, p. 62A, and p. 66. See also above, n. 14.

⁶³ The same image of a single Armenian tradition is to be found in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i, whose familiarity with the *Ašxarhac'oyc'* has been pointed out by Robert Thomson, MK, rev. ed. (2006), p. 50-52, and whose purpose is "to collect, arrange, and interpret legends of the Armenian past... to sum up the Armenian tradition... It is worth noting that Moses' work is the first attempt at a comprehensive history of the Armenians...", *ibid.*, p. 57, 59, 60, n. 121. See below, Epilogue, n. 6.

EPILOGUE

The tumultuous period of the Interregnum unquestionably failed to achieve a number of the goals usually associated with a developing state. It was a period of endemic wars both external and internal, and it saw the establishment over the Armenian plateau of the long Muslim domination, from which it was not to escape. The cities founded in Hellenistic times and destroyed by the Sasanians did not revive.¹ The absence of any native currency from the beginning of the Christian era implies that the economic life and transit trade of the plateau did not lie ultimately in the hands of the Armenians themselves. The demographic unity of the Armenian highlands began to give way through deportations and the implantation of Muslim emirates beginning with the IXth century.² The re-creation of an Armenian state with the royal coronation of Ašot I Bagratuni in 884 broke down within a generation in the North through the appearance of the secondary Bagratid kingdoms of Kars and Lori as well as the separate principality of Siwnik', itself divided into two parts. The separate character of the southern lands was reaffirmed by the coronation of Gagik Arçruni as king of Vaspurakan under the aegis of the Muslim emir of Atrpatakan. The complete autonomy of these units from either Byzantium or the Caliphate remains uncertain even during their heyday.³ Within less than three hundred years, all traces of political independence had vanished once more from the Armenian plateau, not to re-appear there for centuries to come.⁴

¹ GARSOĬAN (1984-1985). The great mint at Manazkert coined in the name of the Arab emirs but not of the Bagratid kings, TER GHEWONDYAN (1976), p. 36.

² Ibid., p. 29-33.

³ The title conceded by the Byzantine chancellery to the Bagratid kings, was not that of king but only that of "Prince of princes" (Ἀρχὼν τῶν ἀρχόντων), which made him a "servant" (δοῦλος) of the emperor, DAI, xliv, xlv, xlix, p. 200/201, cf. GARSOĬAN (1998a), p. 116-117, and n. 235. The first king of Vaspurakan, Gagik I Arçruni received his crown from the emir of Azerbaijan, EAD. (1997), p. 156-157.

⁴ No native Armenian dynasty ruled in the highlands after the disappearance of the Bagratid kingdoms late in the XIth century, or of that of the Arçruni, early in the XIIth. The various ephemeral Euphratine principalities and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia were based far from the homeland and the latter would not outlive the XIVth century. The degree of autonomy of the Zak'arid Armenian viceroys of the Georgian crown remains moot and independence would not return to any part of the Armenian lands until the short

Nonetheless, neither the city nor the centralized state seems to have been an indispensable element in the survival of Armenia's identity. As noted by Ter Ľewondyan, the Armenian cities after the Arab conquest such as Ahlat, Arčeš, Berkri, Manazkert, or Naḫčawan were to be found on the lands of the Emirates rather than those of the Armenian princes, and the Bagratids themselves made no systematic effort to maintain their domination over the former central administrative capital of Duin, preferring to base themselves in their north-western domains at Širakawan, Kars and ultimately Ani. In general, the presence of *k'* [p], the index of the plural nominative, at the end of so many mediæval Armenian toponyms: Arcrunik', Aršarunik', Anjewac'ik', Cop'k', Daranañik', Mokk', Rštunik', Siwnik', T'ayk', Xorxorunik', etc., implies that tribal or clan lands had delimited the parameters of the homonymous provinces.⁵ Geographical loyalty does not seem to have been a characteristic of the early Arsacids,⁶ nor of the later Bagratids who moved their seat in every generation until they came to rest at Ani for less than a century before the surrender of the city to the Byzantines in 1045. The great religious and intellectual centers of the high Middle Ages: Sewan, Halpat, Sanahin, Narek, Hořomos, Halarcin, Goš, Tanahat, Harič, Amañu/Noravank', Ta'tew, and the rest, eschewed urban centers to flourish in the "desert". The kat'olikos himself avoided royal courts to establish himself elsewhere.⁷

The significance and importance of Armenia' periodic periods of political autonomy may of course not be underestimated or disregarded, but they were episodic and relatively short lived. They were not to be the

lived Republic of the XXth century and the present day.

⁵ The same is true for the classic, native term for Armenia or more accurately "the Armenians", *Hayk'*. Cf. MK, p. 60, n. 121.

⁶ GARSOĬAN (1988-1989).

⁷ After abandoning his seat of Duin, now in Muslim hands, Yovhannēs Drasxanakerc'i despite his early support for the young king Ašot II, ultimately sought refuge in Vaspurakan rather than at the Bagratid court (YK-M, p. 20). His successors would prefer neighbouring Argina to the capital of Ani, to which the kat'olikos moved only in 992, at the very end of the Xth century; ASOLIK, II.xi, p. 50; GARSOĬAN (1997), I, p. 171, 197: "the kat'olikos normally chose to live away from the royal court". After the collapse of the Bagratid monarchy, the kat'olikos Grigor II Vkasasēr "preferred to seek distant asylums and refuge ... [and] set out on the protracted wanderings that would keep [the kat'olikate] away from its seat on the Armenian plateau". Even in the period of the Cilician kingdom, the seat of the kat'olikate was removed in 1151 to the remote fortress of Hromkla on the Euphrates, where it remained, until its capture by the Muslims in 1292, forced the kat'olikos to take residence in the capital of Sis, DER NERSESSIAN (1962), p. 641, 656.

intrinsic keepers of the Armenian identity or, ultimately, to be wholly identified with it. For this reason, an attempt has been made here to redirect our attention to a period whose importance has not, hitherto, benefited from sufficient attention, and to give a more balanced evaluation of the Interregnum. As opposed to the ultimate fragility of political institutions, the ones it preserved or forged proved solid enough to outlive successive disasters since they were rooted outside a political framework and were not dependent upon it. Rather they brought about or nurtured the constants that proved to be the fundamental components of Armenia's identity. Those aspects which were still embryonic in the palaeochristian royal Arsacid period and in the fifth century following it, now developed to the full. The language which had given their own voice to the Armenians with the invention of the native alphabet now achieved the breadth and flexibility needed for sophisticated translations and original works of scholarship, as a result of the additions and alterations brought about by the Hellenophile School. The elaboration of an intellectual framework at the same time as the transformation of the earlier eremitic tradition into more solid monastic institutions laid the seeds for the great religious centers that would preserve and further the intellectual life of the nation. Except for the addition to the churches beginning in the XIth century of the great exonarthexes called *gawits* or *žamatouns*,⁸ Armenian architecture in the high middle ages would increase the size, refinement and complexity of its monuments but would not alter significantly the typology developed during the Interregnum. The famous palatine church of the Holy Cross at Ałt'amar erected at the very beginning of the Xth century by king Gagik Arcruni of Vaspurakan reproduced an earlier plan.⁹ King Gagik I Bagratuni chose to copy kat'olikos Nersēs III's VIIth century church at Zuart'noc' for the church of Saint Gregory at Ani usually known by his name as Gagkašēn.¹⁰ The social nexus of the great

⁸ THIERRY-DONABEDIAN (1989), p. 121.

⁹ THIERRY (s.d., Zodiaque), p. 138: "Son plan ... qu'on a cru longtemps original ... est la réplique de l'église Sainte-Croix d'Albak récemment découverte ... inspiré du plan de l'église d'Arcuaber", which he himself dates in the VIIth century, *ibid.*, p. 137: "Nous avons vu qu'au VII^e siècle, l'architecte de l'église d'Arcuaber avait copié la Sainte-Hripsimé d'Ējmiacin (618) [with minor alterations] ... Dans la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle, Arcuaber a inspiré le constructeur de la Sainte-Croix d'Albak (Soradir) ... Et le plan de cette dernière sera repris à la Sainte-Croix d'Ałt'amar (915-921)."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 101: "le plan en tétraconque à galerie de la célèbre église de Zvart'noc' ... a été repris par le roi Gagik I^{er} à Ani autour de l'an 1000."

noble families, even though reduced by both Muslim reprisals for their endemic revolts and by the invasive acquisitions of the Bagratids on their way to power had been reinvigorated during the Interregnum and was still viable during the new royal period.¹¹ The indispensability of this institution as one of the constant bases in Armenian society was to be reaffirmed by the later attempts of the Zak'arids to preserve and re-create it once more artificially late in the XIIth century.¹²

Unquestionably indispensable for the survival of Armenia was the final establishment of its national Church. Following its long struggle against the domination of powerful neighbours that culminated in the Armenian rejection of the symbol of the council of Chalcedon at the beginning of the VIIth century, and the subsequent overcoming of internal heterodox and especially of extremist tendencies during the Interregnum, the Church finally perfected its own organization from all points of view, liturgical, canonic and dogmatic, to achieve the full meaning of its autocephaly. The concomitant absence of a state during the Interregnum made evident that the presence of a political unit was not the ultimate criterion for the identification nor was it indispensable for the survival of the nation. Its absence gave to the Church its dominant position as the focus for the allegiance of all Armenians irrespective of political configuration.

Finally, and probably most importantly, the combination of this single focus and of the reality resultant from the disappearance of the east-west border, which had long artificially divided the Armenian lands, at the time that the Umayyads established their domination over them while the disputed theatre of war moved into central Anatolia far to the west, now brought into being the intellectual concept, reflected in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, that of a single entity replacing the earlier tripartite or two-fold divisions. This image of a single, imaginary Greater Armenia, resting on a territorial core but corresponding to no historic moment, embodied a new con-

¹¹ This aspect was noted by MARTIN-HISARD (1982/2007), p. 238: "Les conditions de cette restauration [la royauté bagratide] manifestaient aussi à quel point les structures socio-politiques du pays avec leurs *nakharar* avaient été les supports de cette permanence nationale; elles avaient su traverser une domination musulmane de plus en plus pesante; souvent menacées, parfois cruellement frappées, elles s'étaient toujours reconstituées,... En ce sens, la description faite par le catholikos Hovannēs qui associe étroitement les *nakharar* à la restauration de la royauté est particulièrement juste."

¹² BEDROSIAN (1997), I, p. 259. On the Zak'arids, see further the forthcoming work of S. La Porta.

cept, that of a nation free from the framework of a state. As such, it would prove to be both enduring and exportable when circumstances required. This definition of its identity was to ensure the ultimate survival or recreation of the nation during the destructive Abbasid period and the grim centuries to come.

SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Constraints of space have unfortunately made it impossible to include all works referring to the multiple aspects of this study. On a number of occasions earlier works have been subsumed of necessity in later ones. In particular, further consultations for Armenian sources and the literature pertaining to them should be made to R.W. Thomson's *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 A.D.*, Brepols-Turnhout, 1995.

References to works in different languages, occasionally by one and the same author, e.g. Yovhannēs/Hovhannēs or Łewond/Ghevond in the case of the Armenian sources, or H. Manandean/A. Manandian/Manandyan, Akopian/Hakobyan, Ter Łewondyan/Ter Ghewondyan, or yet Awkerean/Aucher — in the case of modern authors, as well as twentieth century spelling reforms in both Russian and Armenian, have turned any attempt at uniformity into an impossible nightmare. The most that could be attempted is to maintain the spelling of the original publication and respect the wishes of the author, where known. Classical spelling has been retained in the case of Armenian primary sources. Cross references have been provided in most cases of ambiguity.

Transliterations of Armenian titles have followed the scholarly Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste system adopted by the *Revue des études arméniennes* so that the original forms might be re-accessed in all cases. The system of the Library of Congress has been followed for Russian, and wherever possible that of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* and the *Encyclopedia Iranica* for Arabic and Persian. Diacritical marks have been included throughout for transliterations, but they have been disregarded for purposes of alphabetization.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AAG *Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte*
 AB *Analecta Bollandiana*
 ACO *Acta Conciliorum Œcumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub,
 Berlin, 1914-1983
 AJT *American Journal of Theology*
 AKGWG. *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu*
 Göttingen
- B *Byzantion*
 Baz *Bazmaveb/Pazmavep*
 BAR *British Archaeological Reports*
 BBA *Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten*
 BF *Byzantinische Forschungen*
 BHG *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*
 BHGI *Banber Hayastani Gitakan Instituti*
 BM *Banber Matenadarani*
 BMGS *Byzantinè and Modern Greek Studies*
 BO *Bibliotheca orientalis*
 BSOS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*
- CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*, XIV
 CFHB *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
 CHI *Cambridge History of Iran*
 CJ *Codex Justinianus*, CJC, vol. II
 CJC *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, eds. R. Schoell and W. Kroll, 6th ed., Berlin, 1954
 CMH *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV/1-2
 CSCO *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
 CSHB *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
- DHGE *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*
 DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
 DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
- EHR *English Historical Review*
 EI *Encyclopedia of Islam*
 EO *Échos d'Orient*
- FHG *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
- GCS *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*
- HA *Handes Amsorya*

- HAnjB *Hay anjnanunneri bařaran*, ed. H. Ačaryan, 2nd ed., 5 vols., Beirut, 1955-1956.
- HArmB *Hay armatakan bařaran*, ed. H. Ačaryan, 2nd ed., 4 vols., Erevan, 1971-1979.
- IIAN *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk'*
- IIAO *Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente*
- JA *Journal Asiatique*
- JANS *Journal of Near-Eastern Studies*
- JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JÖB *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
- KV *Kavkaz i Vizantija*
- LM *Le Muséon*
- Mansi J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence, 1759-1798
- MH *Matenagirk' Hayoc'*, Antelias, 2004-
- NBHL *Nor Bargirk' Haykazea Lezui*
- OC *Oriens christianus*
- OCA *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
- OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- OLA *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*
- OS *L'Orient syrien*
- P-BH *Patma-banasirakan Handes*
- PdO *Parole de l'Orient*
- PG *Patrologia Graeca* (Migne)
- PLRE *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, eds. J. Martindale *et al.*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1971-1992.
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis*
- PS *Patrologia Syriaca*
- P-W Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- REArm *Revue des études arméniennes*
- REB *Revue des études byzantines*
- REG *Revue des études grecques*
- REGC *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes*
- RH *Revue Historique*
- RHPR *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*

- RHR *Revue d'histoire des religions*
RO *Res Orientales*
RSR *Recherches de science religieuse*
- SI *Studia Iranica*
ST *Studi e Testi*
- TM *Travaux et Mémoires*
- VV *Vizantijskij Vremennik*
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZK *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*

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INDICES

In all four Indices: I. Prosopography, II. Toponymy, III. Analytical, IV. Technical Terms, the entries follow the order of the Latin rather than the Armenian alphabet. Given the multiplicity of aspects of a number of problems, and in the attempt to limit the Analytical Index, some grouping and duplication has been necessary within it, with cross references given where needed. Where no Index number is given, the reference is to an entry within the same Index.

Names of families, e.g., Bagratids, Mamikonean, have been listed in Appendix I, but names of dynasties, e.g., Parthians, Umayyads, have been given under Appendix III. Because of the multiple forms extant in various languages, names and toponyms for which accepted English forms exist are given in their familiar rather than in transliterated forms. Thus, Heraclius rather than Herakleios, Justinian and not Yustinianos, Constantinople rather than Kostantinoupolis, etc. Spelling and morphological variations have regrettably made any uniformity impossible, but cross-references have been supplied in cases of ambiguity. Armenian names and toponyms have been given according to the Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste transliterational system used throughout this study. Titles of works have been given under the name of the author, where known. Anonymous works are listed in Appendix III.

The diacritical signs required by the Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste system have been maintained throughout the Indices, but have been disregarded for purposes of alphabetizing. The symbols, Latin *x* and Greek *χ* representing different phonemes have been subsumed into one entry for purposes of alphabetizing. Articles, conjunctions or prepositions, (e.g., *a*, *the*, *in*, etc.) have been disregarded in the establishment of an alphabetical order.

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